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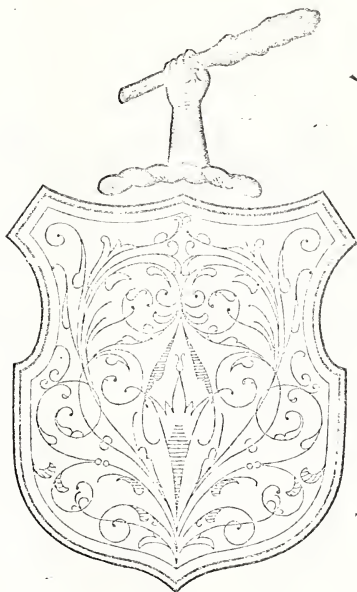
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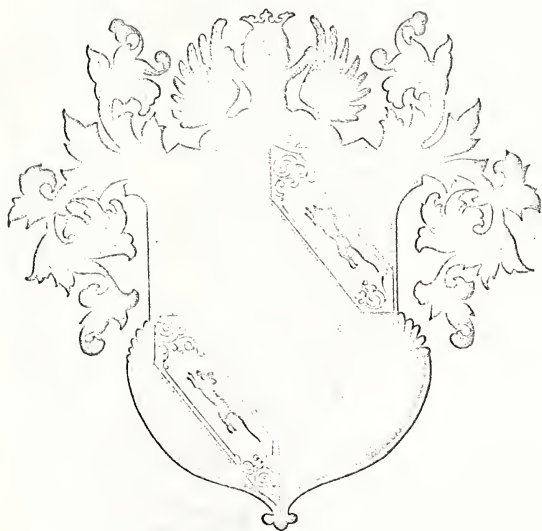
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AMERICANA

JULY, 1921

The Raritan Valley of New Jersey

BY JOHN P. WALL AND H. E. PICKERSGILL

NEW BRUNSWICK

PERTH AMBOY



THE Dutch East India Company of the United Netherlands, who employed Hudson on his voyage of discovery, combined military with commercial operations, and was divided into five chambers established in five of the principal Dutch cities. Its attention was devoted more especially to making reprisals on Spanish commerce, purchasing slaves, the conquest of Brazil, etc. New Netherland was committed to the charge of the Amsterdam chamber.

Five years after Hudson's voyage, a company of merchants under the title of the United Company of New Netherland, procured from the States-General of Holland a patent for the exclusive trade on the Hudson river. They established a trading post at New Amsterdam, on the present site of the Battery. A small redoubt on the site of what is now a part of the city of Kingston, New York, was also built; it was known as the Ronduit, from whence comes the name of Rondout. In the upper valley of the Hudson a fort was erected upon Castle Island, near and below the present city of Albany. One of their navigators, Adriaen Block, extended the sphere of discovery by the way of the East river, tracing the shores of Long Island and Connecticut as far as Cape Cod. He sailed up the Connecticut, named by him the Fresh river, and built a trading post to which he gave the name of "The House of Good Hope," on the present site of the city of Hartford. It was more than probable as early as 1618 that another trading post was erected in the territory now comprising the State of New Jersey, which the Dutch called Achter Kull (or Kill); the spelling of the second name of this title by some historians is *Coll*.

The Dutch also claimed as a part of New Netherland by right of

discovery, the territory adjacent to the Delaware river, which they named the South river. This claim was based on Hudson having sailed a short distance up the waters of that river prior to his entering New York Bay. As early as 1623 a ship under the command of Cornelius Jacobse May was dispatched to take possession of this territory and effect a settlement. May entered the Delaware Bay and gave his name to the northern cape—Cape May. After exploring the river he landed and erected a fort which he named Fort Nassau, situated on the banks of a small stream called by the Indians Sassacknow, below the present city of Camden, New Jersey.

The States-General, on the expiration of the grant of the United Company of New Netherland, refused to renew it, but they continued to trade in the territory until 1623, when the Dutch West India Company, a powerful mercantile association, chartered in 1621, took possession of the lands temporarily granted to their predecessors. The following year Peter Minuit was appointed director of New Netherland; he built Fort Amsterdam, and brought over new colonists who settled on Long Island. Staten Island and Manhattan were purchased from the Indians, but the settlements for the next five years were merely trading posts.

It was in 1629 or 1630 that the council of the Dutch West India Company adopted plans for a more extensive colonization of New Netherland. They granted to certain individuals extensive seigniories or tracts of land, with feudal rights over the lives and persons of their subjects. These tracts of land that were granted, provided that a settlement should be effected within a specified time, besides other conditions. Under these provinces Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, a pearl merchant of Amsterdam, secured in 1630 and subsequently, a tract of land twenty-four by forty-eight miles in extent, comprising the present counties of Albany, Rensselaer and part of Columbia. Other wealthy patroons obtained larger grants for similar seigniories in other portions of New Netherland.

The first Indian deed to territory along the west side of New York Bay and the Hudson river is dated July 12, 1630. It was for a purchase made by the Director-General and Council of New Netherland for Michael Pauw, Burgomaster of Amsterdam and Lord of Achtrehoven, near Utrecht, Holland. The burgomaster also in the same year obtained a deed for Staten Island. The purchase on the Jersey shore of the Hudson was named Pavonia. The

colony established by Pauw was not a success, and his interests were purchased by the directors of the West Indian Company, and it became known as the West India Company's Farms.

David Pieterse de Vries, who had made two unsuccessful attempts to establish Dutch settlements on the shores of the Delaware in 1640, turned his attention to New Netherland. He purchased in that year of the Indians a tract of about five hundred acres at Tappan, on the Achter Kull shore of the Hudson, and gave it the name of Vriesendall. Located along the riverside, sheltered by high hills, with a stream to supply mill sites winding its course through its center, it had all the charms of nature, and with the erection of buildings became an ideal home, where the energetic owner lived for several years. Settlements were also made at Communapaw, Hoboken, Ahasamus, Paulus Hoeck, and throughout the territory were individual settlements, many of which were, however, destroyed in the Indian War of 1644.

The policy of the Dutch government was to encourage the settlement of colonies or manors similar to lordships and seigniories of the Old World, by men of large fortunes, known as patroons, to whom peculiar privileges of trade and government were accorded. These tracts were sixteen miles in extent along the seashore or banks of some navigable river, or eight miles when both banks were occupied with an indefinite extent inland, the company, however, reserving the island of Manhattan and the fur trade with the Indians. These patroons were within four years from the granting of the tract to settle them with fifty persons upwards of fifteen years of age, and upon all trade carried on by them were to pay five per cent. to the company. They were also to extinguish the Indian titles to the land; their tenants were not to acquire a free tenure to the lands, and were prohibited from making any woolen, linen or cotton cloth or to weave any other material, under a penalty of banishment. This restriction was to keep them dependent on the mother country for the most necessary manufactures, which was in spirit with the colonial system adopted by all the nations of Europe. This scheme of colonization met with favor, and several members of the Dutch West India Company selected and purchased the most desirable tracts both on the North and South rivers, as well as the whole neck opposite New Amsterdam as far as the Kills and Newark Bay, together with Staten Island.

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Directly west of these tracts stretched for miles along the waters of Achter Kull and to the estuary west of Staten Island, one of the most inviting regions in New Netherland. To these lands, in 1651, Cornelius Van Werckhoven, one of the schepens of Utrecht in Holland, directed his attention. He duly notified the Amsterdam chamber of his intention to plant colonies or manors in New Netherland. A commission was thereupon given to Augustine Heermans, who resided in New Amsterdam, to open negotiations with the Indians to purchase these lands. After negotiations with the resident proprietors, Heermans purchased for Van Werckhoven the tract extending from the mouth of the Raritan creek westerly to a creek known by the name of Mankackkewacky, running in a northwest direction, and then from the Raritan creek northerly along the river into the creek, namely, from Raritan Point, called Ompage, now the city of Perth Amboy, and following the line of a creek named Pechelesse to its head, where it met the Mankackkewacky before named. The land thus described included the region west of Staten Island from the Raritan to the Passaic rivers, and extended back into the country indefinitely. Three other tracts, one to the south of the Raritan and two on Long Island, were acquired by this enterprising Dutchman. This wholesale grab of territory aroused objections on the part of other greedy speculators, who contended it was too much territory in the hands of one owner, and on its being referred to the Amsterdam chamber it was decided that Van Werckhoven could retain but one of the tracts in question, and he chose to locate himself on Long Island, and the title to the land described above reverted therefore to the original owners.

Thus was the colonization of New Jersey again deferred; the ravages of the Indians also was a check to making any permanent settlement. Treaties, however, were consummated with them and the territory repurchased by Governor Stuyvesant, with the intention of erecting a fortified town. There had, however, been no village located prior to 1660, but in the month of August of that year the right to establish a village in Achter Kull was granted to several inhabitants. It was named Bergen, from a small village in Holland. The village, located on a hill, now known as Jersey City Heights, grew rapidly, and in May, 1761, there was not a vacant lot inside of the fortifications. This was the first permanent settlement on the soil of New Jersey.

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At the time of dismemberment of New Netherland by the English, in what was known afterwards as West Jersey, in the present counties of Gloucester and Burlington, there were a few Swedish farmers and not to exceed three Dutch families established at Burlington; it contained not even a hamlet. In East Jersey, whose hills had been praised by Verrazzani and the soil trodden by the mariners of Hudson, there were in its trackless and forest depths extending from the seacoast to the waters of the Raritan and Delaware outside of the settlement at Bergen, savages who roamed at will, undisturbed by the white man.

The emigrants from Holland were of various lineage, for that country had long been the gathering place of the unfortunate. Refugees from persecution flocked to her boundaries from England and continental Europe. She housed from the heart of Bohemia those who were swayed by the voice of Huss, the Separatists from England, the Huguenots from France, the Protestants from the Reformation, the Walloons from Belgium—all came to her hospitable soil, and from there emigrated to the New Eldorado in the Western Continent. These early Dutch settlers were generally persons of deep religious feeling, honest and conscientious, adding to these qualities industry and frugality, and the majority were prosperous. Their buildings followed the Holland style of architecture, being one story, with a low ceiling, with nothing more than the heavy and thick boards that constituted the upper floor laid on monstrous broad and heavy beams; this portion of their dwelling they utilized to store their grain, and for spinning of wool, sometimes being divided into sleeping apartments. The fireplaces in these abodes were unusually large, sufficient to accommodate the whole family with a comfortable seat around the fire. The buildings were built large enough to admit of hanging within them meat to smoke. The settlers were reluctant to form acquaintance with strangers, lest they should be imposed upon, but when a friendship was formed it proved lasting. They were clannish in their relations to each other; when one of the community was wrongly involved or in trouble, especially in litigation, they were as one man.

The English claim to the territory occupied by the Dutch had never been relinquished, and in 1664 Charles II. determined to remove from the heart of his American colonies the Dutch suprem-

acy. The Duke of York had purchased in March, 1664, the claims of Lord Stirling under grants which he had received from the extinct council of New England, and had received from the King, his brother, a charter for the valuable tract between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers, which was New Netherland's territorial limits. New York was the name bestowed on this province. Energetic measures were promptly taken for the seizure of New Netherland, three ships being dispatched with six hundred soldiers, having on board Colonel Richard Nicolls, Colonel George Carteret, Sir Robert Carr and Samuel Maverick, as commissioners. On Friday, August 19th, the fleet cast anchor in the outer bay of New Amsterdam. The surrender of Manhattan was demanded the following day, but Stuyvesant retorted by a spirited protest, doubting if His Majesty of Great Britain was well informed, and asking if in time of peace it was judicious to demand a capitulation that would offend Holland. His argument or threats produced no effect upon the English commander, who refused to protract negotiations and threatened an immediate attack. Mortifying as it was for the doughty old soldier to surrender without a struggle, Stuyvesant was compelled to submit to circumstances; the majority of the inhabitants were unwilling to run the risk of an assault to which they could not hope to offer any effectual resistance in defense of a government with which they were discontented, and against another which many among them were secretly disposed to welcome. A liberal capitulation was arranged, and upon Monday, August 29th, the Dutch authorities surrendered the town and fort to the English, who immediately took possession. Colonel Nicolls was proclaimed deputy governor, and the people quietly submitted to the sway of the conquerors.

The Duke of York conveyed the country between the Hudson and Delaware rivers to John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. As the extensive tract was thinly inhabited, the proprietaries offered favorable propositions to settlers. Absolute freedom of worship, and a Colonial Assembly, having sole power of taxation and a share of the legislation of the province, were among the principal inducements. The new grant was named Nova Caesarea, or New Jersey, from the island home of Sir George Carteret; the first name, however, was finally dropped, as it was not popular with the settlers.

Berkeley and Carteret having received information of the territory west of the Hudson river, became eager to secure an invest-

ment in western lands. The Duke of York having by his patent the right of sale as well as that of possession and rule, on June 24, 1664, conveyed to them for a competent sum of money the territory now known as New Jersey, which was then considered the most valuable of the Duke's territory. The concessions and agreements of the Lord Proprietors of New Jersey having been completed and signed Feb. 10, 1665, Captain Philip Carteret, a distant relative of Sir George, was commissioned governor of the new province. Robert Vauquelin (Sieur des Prairie) of the city of Caen in France, was appointed surveyor-general.

The people of New England had viewed with longing eyes the lands located about the Achter Kull and on the Raritan. They had crossed the Sound from the colony of New Haven, invading Long Island, where they could scarcely gain a subsistence on its poor and barren soil, and were desirous of locating on the more fertile lands. They may have been, however, actuated by political reasons; the people of New England under the Protectorate had enjoyed the utmost freedom in the administration of civil affairs, and it was natural that on the restoration of Charles II. they should feel some misgivings as to the security of their rights and liberties. The colonists of New Haven were strongly imbued with republican sentiments, and it was with the greatest reluctance that they consented to proclaim the new monarch and to congratulate him on his accession to the throne.

The thoughts of the people of Connecticut at this time turned to the more liberal government of New Netherland, and negotiations were entered into with Governor Stuyvesant by those who had settled on Long Island, for lands at Achter Kull on Newark Bay. The first of those applicants was John Strickland, a resident of Huntington, Long Island, in behalf of himself and other New England people. This application was received by the Director-General at an opportune time, as the Dutch rulers had decided upon the policy of inviting republicans disaffected on account of the restoration of the English monarchy, to settle in their dominions, where they could enjoy civil and religious freedom. The Dutch West India Company had also adopted a charter of "Conditions and Privileges" of a very liberal character. Mr. Strickland, therefore, received a favorable answer to his application, but no settlement was effected.

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The people of New Haven Colony were also further disturbed by the action of the General Court of Connecticut, which sent its governor, John Winthrop, to England to procure a charter for the colony to embrace the territory "eastward from the line of Plymouth colony, northward to the limits of Massachusetts colony, and westward to the Bay of Delaware, and also the islands contiguous." It was not strange that the liberal proposals of the Dutch government should meet with favorable reception in the towns of the New Haven Colony. A deputation was sent to New Amsterdam to make further inquiry and ascertain the character of the lands to be settled. This deputation was courteously entertained by the governor and council, and made so favorable a report that a second deputation visited New Amsterdam, with power to negotiate with Governor Stuyvesant for the settlement of a plantation near the Raritan river.

This attempt to effect a settlement failed on account of one condition which the Director-General and the Council of New Amsterdam were unwilling to concede. The New Haven people wanted absolutely an independent community with all the rights of self-government. They were to gather a church in the congregational way; the right of calling a Synod by the English churches that might be gathered in New Netherland for regulation of their ecclesiastical affairs; the right to administer justice in civil matters within themselves by magistrates of their own selection, without appeal to other authorities; the purchase of the lands by the Dutch government from the natives and a full conveyance thereof to the associates forever; none to be allowed to settle among them except by their own consent; the right to collect debts—and a written charter stipulating these rights in full. All these conditions were freely granted except the concession of self-government without appeal, which would give the proposed colony greater liberty than was enjoyed by the other towns and settlements of New Netherland. The delegation insisting upon the fullest concession of popular rights, the conference was broken off. Although the negotiations were renewed at subsequent times, no satisfactory results were arrived at during the continuance of the jurisdiction of the Dutch. Later, in 1663, occurred the revolt against the Dutch government by the English people of Long Island, who placed themselves under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. An attempt made

by a party of twenty Englishmen from Long Island to land at the mouth of the Raritan river with the intention of purchasing a plantation from the Indians, was frustrated by an armed party sent for that purpose by Governor Stuyvesant.

Immediately upon the assumption of the government by Colonel Nicolls, the attention of those settlers who several years before sought removal to Achter Kull, was directed again to this inviting region. An association was formed, and several of their number were dispatched to New York to secure from the governor liberty to purchase and settle a plantation. Four weeks after the surrender of New Amsterdam, Governor Nicolls granted the petition of John Ballies, Daniel Denton, Thomas Benydict, Nathaniel Denton, John Foster and Luke Watson, for the settlement of a plantation of New Jersey. A tract of land was purchased of the Indians; in a deed given by them the names of John Bayley, Daniel Denton and Luke Watson appear, while in the official confirmation given by Governor Nicolls the names of John Ogden of Northampton and Captain John Baker of New York are added. The tract is described as bounded "on the south by the Raritan river, east to the sea which divides Staten Island from the main land, to run northwards up the bay until you come to the first river, and to run westward twice the length of the breadth of the tract from north to south." This tract contained 500,000 acres upland and meadows, in fair proportions, well watered, diversified with level plains and ranges of hills of considerable elevation, the soil of the uplands being mostly of clay loam and shale susceptible of a high state of cultivation. It extended from the mouth of the Raritan on the south to the mouth of the Passaic on the north, a distance of seventeen miles, and running back into the country thirty-four miles, embracing the towns of Woodbridge, Piscataway, Union county, parts of the towns of Newark and Clinton, a small part of Morris county, and a considerable portion of Somerset county.

Having secured absolute proprietorship, measures were taken for a speedy and effective occupation of the domain. The precise date when the settlement of what was to become Elizabethtown was actually commenced is not known. When, on July 29, 1665, Governor Carteret arrived on the good ship "Philip" at New York, with a party of thirty settlers, including eighteen male servants, a number of whom were French, he allowed but a few days to elapse

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before taking possession of the new province. Arriving at the Point, the entrance of the creek, where the Connecticut settlers had laid out their town, he was met by the settlers gathered about the landing to receive the newcomers. Governor Carteret submitted his credentials to Ogden and his townsmen. The enterprising settlers had unwittingly prepared a capital for the new governor in the primitive wilderness, and made a promising beginning in the way of improvements.

The settlers of the first two or three years were mainly of one class and of the same origin, almost wholly New Englanders from Long Island and Connecticut. Very few of the planters for the first five years came over directly from the Mother Country. Governor Carteret, anxious for the growth of the new province, confirmed the grants of Governor Nicolls; although they were repudiated by the Duke of York, he was lenient in enforcing the terms of the concessions, and allowed the Hempstead Code of Laws to stand. He purchased a lot from one of the associates and established a residence, and, with a hoe carried on his shoulder, thereby intimated his intention to become a planter. He sent word far and wide through the colonies that New Jersey was open for settlement under the protection of a governor. Two years passed, the province commenced to grow, ships came and went, bringing settlers and merchandise; the Puritans of Connecticut obtained a grant on the Passaic river. In April, 1668, the governor issued his first call for a General Assembly to meet at Elizabethtown, May 25, 1668. It was in session five days, and enacted the Elizabethtown Code of Laws. This code differed but slightly from the Hempstead Code of Laws formulated in 1664 at Hempstead, Long Island. Differences, however, arose between the governor and delegates; the former dissolved the Assembly, and for two years refused to call another, carrying on the government with the aid of his council.

In the meantime the Lord Proprietors were involved in financial troubles in England; Berkeley had been detected in the basest corruption and had been deprived of office; Carteret was accused of being a defaulter of the funds of the navy. These circumstances led to a renewal of a scheme to annex New Jersey to the Province of New York, in which Colonel Nicolls had always been interested. Measures were accordingly taken by the Duke of York to further this scheme, which was nearly consummated, but by some turn of the

political wheels, the two proprietors regained royal favors, received appointments in Ireland, retained possession of their charter, and Elizabethtown remained the seat of government, the residence of the governor and his officials.

Between the governor and the popular branch of the government had grown up an irreconcilable difference. The Assembly, though the governor refused to convene it, met in 1670, again March 26, 1671, adjourning to May 14, 1671. It was then called the Assembly, or the House of Burgesses, and deputies were present from Elizabeth, Newark, Bergen, Woodbridge and Piscataway. The governor refusing to preside over the Assembly either in person or by deputy, the members appointed Captain James Carteret, a son of Sir George, who was then residing in Elizabethtown, presiding officer. The occasion of Captain Carteret being in Elizabethtown was that he was on his way to North Carolina to take possession of his newly acquired domain as landgrave. He had been requested by his father to call upon Governor Carteret to confer with him in respect to the affairs of the province. The captain seems, in order to conciliate the aggrieved planters, to have taken their side, as on his elevation as presiding officer of the Assembly he issued a warrant for the arrest of William Pardon, the secretary of the House, for refusing to deliver the acts and proceedings of the Assembly, which had been destroyed by the order of the governor. Pardon was arrested, but made his escape, fleeing to Bergen, where Governor Carteret and his council were in session. The executive and his council issued a document at Bergen, May 28, 1671, declaring his purpose that unless the people would declare their submission in ten days he should proceed against them as mutineers and enemies of the government. Pardon was appointed to read this proclamation before a town meeting; an order was issued for his arrest, his house was broken into, and all his movables carried away. The governor, by the advice of his council, determined to lay the grievances of the province before the Lord Proprietors. Thereupon he sailed for England with some of his officials, appointing John Berry deputy governor in his place. Captain James Carteret occupied the government house at Elizabethtown, making frequent visits to New York, and on April 15, 1673, married Frances, daughter of Captain Thomas Delavall, merchant and mayor of that city. He had hardly completed his honeymoon when he received dispatches and instruc-

tions from his aged father requiring him to retire from the scene of conflict and look after his patrimony in Carolina. Just at this juncture, in July, 1673, New York surrendered to the Dutch rule. By the treaty of Westminster, concluded the following year between England and Holland, all conquests were mutually restored; New Jersey consequently again passed into the hands of the English.

Governor Carteret returned from England in November, 1674, Berkeley had sold his half of the province, and Sir George Carteret had become sole proprietor of East Jersey under a new patent from the Duke of York, who had received a new charter from Charles II. Time had softened the animosity of the people, and Governor Carteret was warmly welcomed. Life at the court of the Stuarts had confirmed Carteret in his opinions, and the Dutch rule had strengthened the spirit of freedom in the people, and the same disagreement arose almost at once. Not content to let old grievances drop, Carteret revived the old questions of land patents and other matters of former dissensions. The people offered to compromise, but the governor refused to recede from his position, and the people were obliged to yield. A season of comparative peace followed, and the province developed under Carteret's rule.

The same ship in which Carteret sailed from England brought as a passenger Sir Edmund Andros, a kinsman, the newly appointed governor of New York. Later he became governor of all the colonies, and in his attempt to extend his jurisdiction over New Jersey came in conflict with the government of Carteret, and also with the desires and interests of the people, who united in common cause against a formidable enemy, and all former animosities were forgotten. In March, 1680, Andros notified Carteret that he intended to take military possession of the province and to erect a fort at Sandy Point. Carteret was decided in his opposition, but the dogmatic Andros treacherously effected the capture of the governor, confining him in prison. Carteret was brought to trial for presuming to exercise jurisdiction within the bounds of His Majesty's letters-patent granted to the Duke of York. The jury, however, declared him not guilty, and he was acquitted, but an order was appended to the judgment of the court requiring him to give security that he would not exercise jurisdiction either civil or military in the province of New Jersey. Upon his release on parole, Carteret appealed to the new government, and occupied his leisure in leading



SIR EDMUND ANDROS

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the life of a private citizen at Elizabethtown, improving his estate, the erection of a new house, and in getting married. In March, 1681, on receipt of letters from England, Governor Carteret resumed office by proclamation and took up the controversy with the people, which remained a matter of litigation until the Revolution intervened. The heirs of Sir George Carteret having sold their interests in East Jersey, the governor was superseded in November, 1682, by Deputy Governor Thomas Rudyard. His death occurred soon afterwards, December 10, 1682, in his forty-fourth year, undoubtedly hastened by the exposure and ill treatment at the time of his arrest by Andros.

The colonization of Elizabethtown stimulated and encouraged the settlement of the country laying west in the Valley of the Raritan. Daniel Pierce, with other associates residing in Newbury, Massachusetts, on May 21, 1666, entered into an agreement with Governor Carteret, John Ogden and Luke Watson, to settle two townships. The tract specified was known as Achetur Kull, or Am-boyle, originally granted by Governor Nicolls to John Bailey, Daniel Denton and Luke Watson, extending from the Raritan river to the Rawack river and running back into the country, according to the Indian deed. In consideration of £80 sterling, one-half of this tract was transferred to Pierce, December 11, 1666. A week later he transferred to John Martin, Charles Gilman, Hugh Dunn and Hope-well Hull a third part of the land he had thus acquired. On December 3, 1667, Pierce was commissioned deputy-surveyor to lay out the bounds of a town to be known as Woodbridge, and to apportion the land belonging to each individual. On June 11, 1669, he and his associates received a charter which created the tract of land therein described (said to contain six miles square) into a township to consist of not less than sixty families. By a resolution adopted on that day, this number of families was not to be exceeded unless by special order of the town.

The majority of the first settlers came from New England, and most of them were descendants from the Puritans. The inhabitants of Woodbridge pursued the even tenor of their ways amidst the quietness and sobriety of a secluded agricultural people. Wood-bridge had ten thousand acres for the town and twenty thousand for adjoining plantations, several of these being highly improved. A

court house and prison were there, and the possession of a charter gave to the town a peculiar consideration in the province. At the time of the transfer of East Jersey to the twenty-four Proprietors, March 14, 1682, Woodbridge's population was estimated at six hundred. The inhabitants were loyal to the Dutch and English governors, to the proprietaries' interests or royal prerogatives, whichever had the ascendancy. Plain Samuel Dennis, justice under English rule, became Samuel Dennis, schepen, when the Hollanders temporarily gained the supremacy. The town with equal facility was transferred from the province of New Jersey to the schoutship of Achter Kull in the New Netherland.

The affairs of Woodbridge were managed as in New England at town meetings, and in January, 1699, it became necessary to make it obligatory to attend these meetings under a penalty of nine pence for non-attendance, and upon refusal to pay the fine the delinquent was to be turned out of the meeting house. The early residents deemed it necessary to prepare against Indian attacks, and a rate was levied to provide ten pounds of powder and twenty pounds of lead; the prison was ordered to be fortified by stockades of a half or whole tree of nine feet long at least, to provide a place of safety for the women and children, but it was never occupied. A ranger of the woods was appointed to prevent danger threatened by the French and Indians. These are the only occurrences on record intimating the existence of any apprehended difficulty with the natives.

The early associates of Piscataway came principally from the region watered by the Piscataqua river, which now is a portion of the boundary line of Maine and New Hampshire. It is the Indian name of one of the eastern tribes, and the orthography of the town's name was changed soon after its settlement to its present form. The first settlers were of more mixed nationality than the New England settlers of Woodbridge.

The original settlers in the vicinity of New Brunswick were Dutch and French Protestants. There were, however, in 1693, some English and Dutch plantations on the Raritan above and below the present city of New Brunswick, while the central part was only a swamp. In June, 1681, John Inian and company purchased from the Indians a tract of land embracing ten thousand acres on the south side of the Raritan river opposite the township of Piscataway.

This tract afterwards became known as the Raritan lots, and is now the lower edge of New Brunswick, running along the river to near Bound Brook. The tract was soon afterwards surveyed and laid out into nineteen lots having in general less than a half of mile of river front and about two miles deep, aggregating about six hundred and forty acres. John Inian purchased two of these lots in what is now New Brunswick; to the north of his purchase, lots were sold to Gibbons, Inian, Bainbridge, Bridgeman, Miller, Jones, Clements, Antill and Dockwra. South of Inian's purchase, Thomas Lawrence bought three thousand acres; this tract subsequently came into the possession of Cornelius Longfield and Governor Barclay, while that of Inian was purchased by Philip French, who laid out streets upon it and cut it up into building lots and farms.

The first Dutch came about 1683, principally from Long Island. The condition of affairs cannot be better illustrated than giving extracts from a Scotchman's letter to his brother in Edinburgh. He writes that the Indians are nothing to fear, the country being as peaceable as anywhere else. There are no bears, nor ravenous beasts except wolves, which are harmless; snakes are not to be noticed, as they give timely warning of an attack by the rattling of their tails. Oxen are so well taught they go sometimes in a plough or cart without horse or without a gad-man. Horses and cattle are as cheap as in Scotland. The air, he writes, is healthful, the soil fruitful, Indian corn yielding commonly two or three hundred fold and oats twenty fold. He informs his brother that there were several reasonably good towns in the province of more than eighty families each, that there were no poor people, and the liquor they used was cider, as there was a great store of fruit. The old inhabitants, he states, are a most careful and infrugal people, their profession most part Protestants, a few Quakers, and some Anabaptists, but there was a lack of preachers and he hoped his brother would be instrumental in filling this want.

The point at the mouth of the Raritan river is first mentioned in the deed of Augustine Heermans by the name of Ompage. In the subsequent deed to Bailey, Denton and Watson, no particular name is given to either the point or country, but the next year, Bailey transferring his rights to Philip Carteret, calls the country, Arthur Kull or *Emboyle*, which was written *Amboyle*; from these names *Ambo* was derived and conferred upon the point. In granting the

charter of Woodbridge, it was specified that one thousand acres should be reserved in and about Ambo Point, one hundred acres of which were to be laid out in the most convenient place adjacent to the point. This reservation is a proof of sound discrimination and judgment of Governor Carteret, as it was a most eligible site for the situation of a city. He most likely had in mind the opposition to his authority shown at Elizabethtown, which induced him to recommend the removal of the seat of government to some place where the interests of the proprietaries would be more regarded. The transfer of the province into other hands and the death of Carteret prevented the realization of his plans. The new proprietaries also were interested in establishing a city at the Point, and contributed £1,200 in furtherance of the project, but their deputy governors were slow in making progress, and it was not until 1684 that any effective steps were taken. In that year, Lawrie, the then deputy governor, received positive orders to remove the offices of government from Elizabethtown to what was then called the new town of Perth.

In December, 1685, an arrival of more than ordinary interest occurred at the Point. A vessel freighted with Scotchmen upon whom persecution had wrought the work of purification and whose souls had been tempered for patient endurance by sore trials and misfortunes, anchored in the harbor. They were Scotch Covenanters, members of the Cameronians, a sect of Scotch Presbyterian dissenters. James I. had enforced on his Scottish subjects a liturgy which the people abhorred. This exercise of the royal prerogative led in 1638 to the formation of a covenant in behalf of the true religion and freedom of the Kirkdom. The organization of the Scottish Presbytery was still further completed in the adoption of the Presbyterian form of church government, a Calvinistic confession of faith, and the two catechisms, which documents are still the standard of the Scottish Kirk. The act of English and Scottish parliaments against conventicles, the legalized persecutions, with other irritating matters, exasperated the Covenanters to a point where they thought forbearance ceased to be a duty. They therefore took up arms against the royal power and were disastrously beaten, and many executed and imprisoned. They were mostly inhabitants of the Lowlands of Scotland, the Highlanders being generally adherents of the Roman Catholic religion or the Church of England. To these people America offered a refuge, and through the exertions

of George Scot, Laird of Pitlochie, early in May, 1685, a ship of three hundred and fifty tons named the "Henry and Francis" of Newcastle, England, was chartered. On September 5, 1685, the vessel left the harbor of Leith, Scotland, having on board nearly two hundred passengers, some of whom had been on board since the previous summer. The voyage was long and disastrous, fifteen weeks being consumed in crossing the ocean. A fever of a malignant type broke out, and the meat, owing probably to the length of time which had elapsed since the vessel was chartered, became offensive and uneatable. As many as seventy died at sea, among whom was George Scot, Laird of Pitlochie, his wife also, her sister-in-law, Lady Althornie, and her two children.

The charge for transportation as publicly announced was £5 sterling for each adult, and to each of those who was unable to pay for his passage was promised twenty-five acres of land and a suit of new clothes on the completion of four years' service to those who advanced the requisite amount. After their arrival, considerable difficulty took place on account of those that had come over without paying their passage money. An attempt was made to have them serve their four years' indenture in consideration of the expense incurred by Scot for their transportation. This they would not agree to, and suits were brought. The jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff of £5 sterling and costs. It is a difficult matter to determine how many of these Scotch Covenanters became permanent residents of Perth Amboy. A large number of them returned to England; others, on the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England, returned to their native land.

The Dutch at New Netherland took the first steps for civil organization of East Jersey. They established in 1661 the jurisdiction of the incorporated town of Bergen over the outlying and contiguous plantations on the west side of the Hudson river. The courts of Bergen under the supreme authority of the director-general and council of Manhattan were sufficient to meet all requirements of local administration over so limited a district of country, and were continued for more than a decade after the English came into possession of the country.

In the meantime a sufficient population had settled about Newark Bay, along the Passaic, the Raritan, and southward to the High-

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lands of the Navesink, to foreshadow in outline at least the necessity for erecting four original counties in East Jersey. The Legislature of 1675 enacted that Elizabethtown and Newark make a county; Bergen and adjacent plantations be a county; Woodbridge and Piscataqua be a county; and that the two towns, Middletown and Shrewsbury at Navesink, make a county. By this act the incipient counties were neither named nor their limits defined. Seven years later a more definite division was made. The General Assembly of East Jersey convened at Elizabethtown in 1682 passed an act erecting the counties of Bergen, Essex, Middlesex and Monmouth. The preamble for the erection of these counties states the following: "Having taken into consideration the necessity of dividing the province into respective counties for the better governing and settling of courts in the same," etc.

Middlesex county by the legislative act of 1682 was to begin from the parting line between Essex county and Woodbridge, containing Woodbridge and Piscataway and all the plantations on both sides of the Raritan river as far as the Delaware river eastward, extending southwest to the division line of the province, and northwest to the utmost bounds of the county.

By an act of the Assembly in March, 1688, Somerset county was incorporated. The territory thus taken from Middlesex county was its western border lands, the Raritan river forming part of the boundary lines. The reason given for this division was that those engaged in husbandry and manuring of lands in the valley of the uppermost part of the Raritan river were forced by different ways and methods from the other farmers and inhabitants of the county of Middlesex, because of the frequent floods that carry away their fences on their meadows, the only available land they have, and so by consequence their interest is divided from the other inhabitants of the county. This division, however, was merely nominal, and in 1709-10, by an act of the Assembly, Somerset was continued subjected to the jurisdiction of the courts and officers of Middlesex county for the want of a competent number of inhabitants to hold court and for juries. Courts continued to be held in Middlesex for the two counties as late as 1720, when Somerset county courts were duly organized.

There have been a number of acts passed by the Legislature in reference to regulating the boundary lines of Middlesex county. On

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January 31, 1709-10, an act was passed determining the boundaries of the several counties. This act was supplemented March 15, 1713, setting the boundaries between Somerset, Middlesex and Monmouth counties, in which the line between Somerset and Middlesex should begin with the road crossing the Raritan at Inian's Ferry, thence to run along a road leading to the falls of the Delaware as far as the partition line between East and West Jersey.

In accordance with this act, Somerset county extended down one side of the present Albany street, New Brunswick. This, however, by an act passed November 24, 1790, was altered, the boundary line between the two counties being established by the lands and tenements northward of the Raritan river to be annexed to Somerset county, while those south of the river were to become a part of Middlesex county. This act made the middle of the main road from New Brunswick to Trenton the boundary line between Middlesex and Somerset counties.

The easterly bounds of Middlesex county, by an act passed November 28, 1822, were declared to be the middle or midway of the waters of the Staten Island Sound, adjoining same, to the middle of the channel of the waters of the Sound, with the waters of Raritan river, thence to the eastward of the flat or shoal which extends from South Amboy to the mouth of Whale creek, the beginning of the bounds of the counties of Middlesex and Monmouth. A part of Middlesex with a portion of the counties of Hunterdon and Burlington was taken by an act dated February 22, 1838, to form the county of Mercer.

By acts of the Legislature, the western boundary of Middlesex county in the towns of North Brunswick and South Brunswick were made to conform in 1855 and 1858 with a turnpike road extending from Little Rocky Hill to New Brunswick. A part of the township of Woodbridge, by an act of February 16, 1860, within the limits of the city of Rahway, was annexed to Union county, and April 5, 1871, by another act a portion of Plainfield in Union county was annexed to the township of Piscataway in Middlesex county.

The first act dividing the newly organized counties into townships was passed in 1693. The division in Middlesex county was into the incorporated town of Woodbridge, the townships of Perth Amboy, then grist and saw mill, an extensive pottery, and fifty dwellings. Bonhamtown was a small gathering of dwellings.

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There were no further sub-divisions of Middlesex county until February 28, 1860, when East Brunswick was incorporated from parts of the townships North Brunswick and Monroe. On the same day, by an act of the Assembly, New Brunswick was separated from North Brunswick, which had been known since 1803 as the North Ward of New Brunswick. The next township to be organized was Madison, from South Amboy, March 3, 1869. The following year, on March 17, Raritan became a township, its territory being taken from Woodbridge and Piscataway. The township of Cranbury was formed from a part of South Brunswick and Monroe, March 7, 1872, and twelve hundred and fifty acres of the township of South Amboy was incorporated April 6, 1876, as the township of Sayreville.

The first courthouse and jail in Middlesex county was erected at Perth Amboy. In the proprietary minutes under date of May 14, 1685, it was ordered that a town house be built, stipulating it should be erected on a lot owned by one Thomas Warne. The location of this lot is uncertain, but it was probably one running through from High street to Water street, in the new town of Perth. In April, 1696, £20 was voted to Mr. Warne to release this lot again. However, previous to this, Thomas Gordon was directed to fit up one of the old houses of the proprietaries for a courthouse. Whether this was occupied under the royal provincial government is not known.

An act was passed in 1713 for building and repairing jails and courthouses in the province, and Amboy was designated as the site for the jail and courthouse of Middlesex county. The building erected in conformity with this act stood on the northeast corner of High street and the public square, and served for both tries and tried, the prison being under the same roof with the courthouse. It was also used for legislative purposes from Governor Hunter's to Governor Franklin's administrations inclusive. It was destroyed by fire in 1765-66, accidentally, it is said, in the act providing for the erection of another. The second courthouse was erected June 28, 1766, on land donated by the inhabitants of Perth Amboy. It was a two-story building adorned with a cupola or belfry. This structure was used until the transfer of the county seat to New Brunswick, afterwards became a school house, but eventually passed into private hands. The jail authorized by the same act was finished at an expense of £200 in 1767. It was also a two-story building contain-

ing rooms for the keeper's family, in addition to those for prisoners. The city authorities of Perth Amboy ordered its destruction in 1826.

In the early part of January, 1793, a matter of local interest was the question "where shall our new courthouse be situated?" The change of the county seat of Middlesex county had been sanctioned by the Legislature, and the two rivals for the honor and profit were Perth Amboy and New Brunswick. The former claimed for a matter of economy the courthouse should be erected in that city, which already had a suitable building, that it was a free port of entry, and that they were willing to transport officials, witnesses, and those interested in matters brought before the court, free of charge across the ferry, from Perth Amboy to South Amboy. New Brunswick was not behind hand in its offer, claiming to be the largest town, on the line of a stage route, the center of a prosperous agricultural country; that the business done far exceeded Perth Amboy, and on the question of finance they were willing to contribute £300 for the building of a new courthouse in that city. The election was held March 10, 1793, and though there were 2,540 ballots cast, as late as nine days afterwards only 1,900 of these had been counted, of which New Brunswick had 980 and Perth Amboy 900; this seems, however, to have settled the contest, as New Brunswick became the county seat.

The common council of New Brunswick, April 29, 1793, assessed the inhabitants of the city for the £300 promised for the construction of a new courthouse. A number of the citizens who were residents of Somerset county refused to pay the taxes thus levied, and in the case of one delinquent his goods were attached. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, and at a session of this body at the November term, in 1796, Chief Justice Kinsey delivered the opinion of the court. The judgment of the court below was affirmed, that the corporation ordinance and tax were illegal, that its effect was to compel inhabitants of the Somerset side of the city, who had to build and maintain a courthouse of their own, to assist in defraying the expenses of a public building in another county. The Chief Justice reiterates, "for these reasons alone, without entering into the peculiar circumstances which in the case furnish strong suspicions of intentional and premeditated deceptions in this double-faced transaction, we are of the opinion that the vote of the 2nd of Febru-

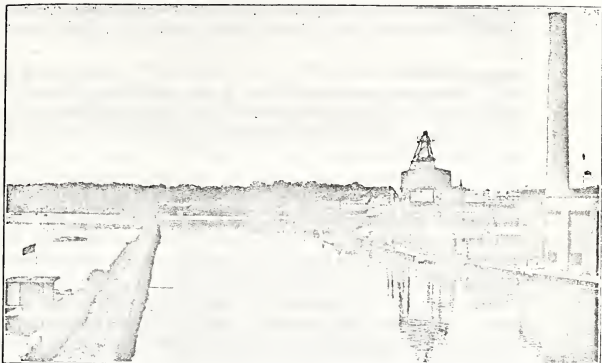
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ary, 1793, imposing a tax of £300 upon the citizens of New Brunswick for purposes set forth, was illegal and void, and of consequence the assessment of it; the ordinance directing the time of payment, the duplicates and warrants of distress, having no valid foundation, are all likewise void."

The decision of the Supreme Court did not, however, interfere with New Brunswick becoming the county seat. A court of common pleas had been held in that city since 1778, and £100 was expended on the Barracks, situated on the west side of George street near Paterson street, where soldiers were quartered during the Revolution. The barracks were destroyed by fire in 1794, and in that year the "Union" or Old City Hall, corner of Neilson and Bayard streets, was built and used for a courthouse, while a jail was erected on the site of the Bayard street public school. This building was utilized till about 1840, when the present courthouse was built, the sum of \$30,000 being obtained from the State, borrowed from the "Surplus Revenue Fund" to aid in its completion. The present building has been remodeled and renovated at different times, making a commodious and substantial building for the transaction of the official business of the county.

In the seventeenth century, where New Brunswick now stands, there was a dense cedar forest interspersed with a swamp. A mystic tradition which the ancient records do not verify states that the first inhabitant, Daniel Cooper, settled where the postroad afterwards crossed the river, and kept a ferry. This Cooper was one of the early purchasers and settlers under the proprietors, and his name appears as such on the schedule to the Elizabethtown Bill. This record states that his tract of land of two thousand acres was on the "Passack" river, and therefore the conclusion is drawn that it did not extend as far west as the Raritan river, therefore he had no connection with the early settlement of New Brunswick.

In Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia" is preserved an item from William Edmundson's Journal. An early traveler in East Jersey in 1675, he made a journey southward from New York, and in going from Middletown to the Delaware river, accompanied by an Indian guide, they lost their way in the wilderness, and were obliged to return to the Raritan river. He tells of coming to a "small landing from New York," which was no doubt the crossing of the path where



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afterwards Inian's Ferry was established. These early travelers wended their way along a small path, with no tame animal in sight, kindling in the wilderness a fire by the side of which they slept, and finally reaching Delaware Falls, now the site of the city of Trenton.

On November 10, 1681, John Inian and company bought two lots which form the principal site of the city of New Brunswick. The tract thus purchased had a mile of river front and was two miles in depth. Inian, with Joseph Benbridge and others, petitioned the Governor and Council on March 1, 1682, for a patent of the lands they had purchased from the Indians. The warrant was for six thousand acres, but it appears that the surveyor had laid out 7,680 acres without the reservation of the seventh that was the proportion of the proprietors. The Council, however, determined that the petitioners should have patents for the land, John Inian to receive one thousand acres, and all others five hundred acres each on payment of one half-penny an acre, the overplus of the tract to be appropriated to the proprietors in lieu of their seventh. A map made in 1685 by John Reid, at that time first deputy surveyor under the proprietors, gives the situation and outlines of nineteen lots designated as the "Raritan Lots," lying on the mouth of South river, past the present site of New Brunswick to Bound Brook, seventeen of which have each about a half a mile of river front by about two miles in depth, and extending in a southwesterly direction inland. Beginning at the mouth of South river, the first of these lots is marked to "Law Baker" and contains 1,300 acres; the next to "C. P. Sommans," 1,000 acres; the next to "Governor Barclay," 500 acres; the next to C. Longfield, 500 acres; the two next to "John Inians," each 640 acres. This last is shown on the map to be the "fording place," designated by a hand pointing towards it, also by the word "falles" written opposite. This was the original site of New Brunswick; the falles were a rocky rift extending across the river, making the stream so shallow it could be easily crossed at low water in a wagon or on horseback.

Soon after Inian's settlement, he set up a ferry, and on April 19, 1686, he addressed a communication to the Governor and Council of East Jersey, stating that at considerable expense he had made a road to Delaware Falls from his house on the Raritan, which was six miles shorter than a former road, and had furnished himself

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with all accommodations as boats, canoes, etc., for ferrying over the Raritan river all those traveling with horses and cattle. He desired the board to settle the rates to be charged for transportation across the Raritan, but whether it was legally established as a ferry at this time is doubtful. The proprietors, however, on November 2, 1697, granted the ferry for the lives of Inian and his wife and to the survivor at a rental of five shillings sterling per annum. The place continued to be called Inian's Ferry, though it was variously corrupted into Inions, Innions, Onions and Inyance, in the public acts and records as late as 1723. In that year, there being only one street in the hamlet, called Broad street and now Burnet street, the county court was petitioned by Henry Freeman, William Harris, Timothy Bloomfield and Direk Van Aersdalen to lay out a road and two streets.

The earliest use of the name New Brunswick is found in the minutes of the county court, April 7, 1724, when two surveyors of roads and two constables were appointed. After this date it ceased to be called by the name of Inian's. Though this was ten years after the accession of the House of Brunswick to the throne of Great Britain, it is presumable that the future city was named in its honor. At this early period the population was very small, although it was beginning to overshadow the older settlements of Woodbridge, Perth Amboy and Piscataway, and its importance as a commercial center was at least flattering. The adjacent territory was rapidly filling up with settlers, and quoting James Alexander, who settled at Inian's Ferry in 1715, there were at that time only four or five houses in the thirty miles between Inian's Ferry and Falls of the Delaware (Trenton). Fifteen years later there was almost a continuous line of fences and houses of farmers engaged in raising wheat, and as New Brunswick was the nearest landing, it became the store house for their produce. This caused the embryo town to increase in population, and a plot of ground in the center of the village commanded as high a price as the same size lot in the heart of New York City.

About this period several Dutch families immigrated from Albany, New York, bringing with them building material and locating along the public road. They were men of considerable property and enterprise; prominent amongst them were Direk Schuyler, Hendrick Van Deursen, Direk Van Veghten, Abraham Schuyler, John

Ten Broeck, Nicholas Van Dyke, and Direk Van Alen. The arrival of these settlers gave a fresh impulse to trade. The principal streets were Burnet, Water and Albany, with a few buildings on Church, the inhabitants living along the river as far south as Sonnan's Hill, extending north a short distance above the ferry; the increased population and activity resulted in the incorporation in 1730 of the township of New Brunswick.

Peter Kalm, a professor of the University of Abo in Swedish Finland, who visited North America in 1748 as a naturalist, under the auspices of the Swedish Royal Academy of Science, gives this description of New Brunswick:

About noon we arrived at New Brunswick, a pretty little town in a valley on the west side of the river Raritan. On account of its low situation it cannot be seen coming from Pennsylvania before arriving at the top of the hill which is close to it. The town extends north and south along the river. The town-house makes a pretty good appearance. The town has only one street lengthwise, and at its northern extremity there is a street across. Both of these are of considerable length. One of the streets is almost entirely inhabited by Dutchmen who came hither from Albany, and for that reason they call it Albany street. On the road from Trenton to New Brunswick I never saw any place in America, the towns excepted, so well peopled.

The greater part of New Brunswick's trade is to New York, which is about forty English miles distant. To that place they send corn, flour in great quantities, bread, several other necessaries, a great quantity of linseed, boards, timber, wooden vessels, and all sorts of carpenter's work. Several small yachts are every day going backward and forward between these two towns. The inhabitants likewise get a considerable profit from the travelers who every hour pass through on the high road.

Notwithstanding all this, the embryo town must have been of very diminutive proportions, for a little over a quarter of a century later, in fact a year before the opening of the Revolutionary War, John Adams, afterwards President of the United States, describes it as follows: "Went to view the village of New Brunswick. There is a Church of England, a Dutch church and a Presbyterian church in this town. There is some little trade here; small craft can come up to this town. We saw a few small sloops. The river is very beautiful. There is a store building for barracks, which is tolerably handsome; it is about the size of Boston jail. Some of the streets are paved, and there are three or four handsome houses, only about one hundred and fifty families in the town."

The granting of a Royal city charter to New Brunswick, December 30, 1730, established two cities in Middlesex county, which was at that time the only county in America to embrace within its limits chartered municipalities. The first corporation seal of the new city is described as follows: On the right side of the seal, the goddess of agricultural bounty is represented by a sheaf of wheat

alongside a pair of scales; the motto reads *Alma sed alequa*, signifying "kindly but just." On the left side appears a ship riding at anchor in the Raritan, typifying commerce. The words *Latae revertor* may be freely translated "I am glad to return home." A new charter was granted the city by George III. on February 12, 1763, but devoid of its legal verbiage there is little difference in its importance from the one secured from George II., thirty-three years before.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, the citizens of New Jersey assembled at New Brunswick for the purpose of formulating plans for the protection and support of the new-born Republic. The old town on the Raritan was honored by being the meeting place of the first Provincial Council of the Colony. After this meeting the name of New Brunswick hardly appears on the pages of the country's history. The city, however, played its part in the stirring events of the time. It harbored within its walls an element, wealthy and aristocratic, who exerted so overshadowing an influence over their less fortunate neighbors that it was impossible to tell who were for or against the patriotic cause. There were many who were avowed Tories, and a number of citizens who took the oath of allegiance proved treacherous to the cause they had sworn to support. Laying as it did in the path of the two armies crossing and recrossing New Jersey, with the varying fortunes of war, it suffered to an extent which few cities were subjected. The winter of 1776-77 found it in possession of a large force of the British army, with Lord Howe, its commander-in-chief, his headquarters being on Burnet street, in the Neilson house, while the Hessian commander, DeHeister, occupied the Van Nuisse house on Queen street. The hill beyond the Theological Seminary was fortified; a post erected at Raritan Landing; another two miles below the city on Bennet's Island. The British officers were quartered upon the inhabitants; citizens compelled to abandon their residences; business was suspended; schools and churches broken up—the whole town being under the sway of the enemy. The British remained in possession about six months, Lord Cornwallis having command of the post.

In the first charter obtained from the State Assembly in 1784, New Brunswick was raised to the dignity of a city. Within its limits were the present city and townships of North and East Brunswick. From 1784 to 1801, New Brunswick was governed by a presi-

dent, register, four directors and six assistants, all twelve of whom constituted a single chamber known as the common council. They were elected by the people, but by a new charter obtained in 1801, the governor and legislature appointed a mayor, recorder and three aldermen, holding office for five years, and meeting together in common council, with six councilmen elected annually by popular vote. The mayor had some judicial authority, presiding over the mayor's court; the recorder had about the same jurisdiction as at the present time; the aldermen until 1838 had the criminal authority of the present justice of the peace.

At the opening of the nineteenth century the city of New Brunswick was noted as a shipping and commercial point and its vessels made voyages to the Bermudas, Bahamas, Jamaica, and Hispaniola in the West Indies; also to Charleston, South Carolina; Wilmington, Delaware; Newberne, North Carolina; Savannah, Georgia; Newport, Rhode Island; besides other ports.

With the restoration of peace came a revival of business and consequent increase of travel to and from New York and Philadelphia. The highways were in a deplorable condition, and travelers gladly availed themselves of the water routes, which were less tiresome and much more comfortable than the bolstered wagons, the stage coaches of that period. The ferry across the Raritan river accommodated the public for over a century. The Indian rights were acquired by Thomas Farmer in 1716, by an Act of Assembly, toll rates were fixed for a horse and man, four pence, for a single person two pence. In 1732 Thomas Farmer conveyed his ferry rights to Philip French in consideration of £300. In 1790, James Parker, of Perth Amboy, gave notice that he would apply to the legislature for a toll bridge across the river Raritan. This movement coming from a citizen of Perth Amboy was not entirely for the benefit of New Brunswick. Perth Amboy was then a seaport with considerable foreign commerce, and the object of the people of that city was to shorten the distance of the agricultural districts around New Brunswick so trade could be diverted to their own seaport. The legislature having passed an act to build a bridge at New Brunswick, appointed commissioners to designate a site. They met February 21, 1791, at the tavern of John Lane. Subsequent meetings were held and it was decided to build at the foot of Albany street. The bridge, completed in 1796, was an open structure. The stone for facing the

original piers was freighted from Blackwell's Island, the outside casing of stone was filled with shale quarried on the east side of the Raritan river, mixed with cement. The original cost of the bridge was \$86,695.71.

After the restoration of peace in 1814, New Brunswick became the depot for the reception of grain from the counties of Warren, Hunterdon, Sussex, Somerset, also Northampton, Pennsylvania, and the country along the upper Delaware. Large wagons drawn by four and six horses and carrying twenty-eight barrels of flour, sometimes as many as five hundred a day, came down the valley of the Raritan. At Raritan Landing were large store houses which received the grain, the sloops would take on a half a cargo, then drop down to New Brunswick, complete their load, and proceed to their destination. The White Hall tavern was headquarters for news, where the grain merchants could congregate, consult a New York paper, and fix the market prices. The New Brunswick shippers paid cash for merchandise, while at Newark and Philadelphia barter was used.

The successful application of steam for navigation was to revolutionize the slower methods of transportation. The State of New York had granted to Livingston and Fulton the exclusive right of steam navigation. Under this right, John R. and Robert James Livingston had purchased the right of navigating the waters of the Raritan to New Brunswick—the head of navigation on that river. They placed on this water route the steamboat "Raritan," but in 1818 Thomas Gibbons placed upon the same route the "Bellona," a steamer of one hundred and sixteen tons, regularly registered at the port of Perth Amboy for the coasting trade under the United States law. The Livingstons secured an injunction restraining Gibbons from using his boat, claiming the exclusive right of steam navigation on the Raritan. Gibbons denied this right and sued for damages; the ablest legal talent of the period was employed; after elaborate arguments by learned attorneys and exhaustive opinions by the presiding justices, judgment was rendered for the plaintiff, thus establishing an important judicial principle, namely, the right of comity in steam navigation between adjoining States under the Federal Constitution. Competing lines were soon organized, and rivalry became active and exciting, the inhabitants turning out in crowds to welcome the arrival and departure of the steamboats.



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The region surrounding Bordentown and Burlington was a great peach growing section, and wagon after wagon load of this delicious fruit was sent to the wharfs at New Brunswick for transportation to New York and other eastern points. The Delaware and Raritan canal was completed during the year 1833, and the shipment of products was simulated; the annual exportation of corn reached 300,000 bushels; rye, 57,000 bushels; and a few years later 1,000,000 bushels passed down the river. Such was the magnitude of trade that the Raritan was rated as one of the three greatest rivers in the country as to tonnage. This increase of business called many other steamboats into requisition.

In 1828 the city's population was about 5,000; there were 750 dwellings, over a hundred stores, and twenty taverns. The city's compact population was bounded by George and New streets; south of New street, houses could be numbered on the fingers of one hand, barring out Burnet street, which led to the steamboat dock. The old stone mansion on the corner of Livingston avenue and Carrol place was built in 1760 by Henry Guest; here Tom Paine was barricaded by his hosts, the Guests, from the violence of a royal mob, seeking to punish him for his treasonable writings. Here, too, were written those poems of the son of Moses Guest, afterwards published in Cincinnati, among which figure that gem, "To Pave or Not to Pave," and the humorous satire, "Toll Bridge." The aristocracy lived on Little Burnet street, in a row of elaborately finished brick houses. The dry goods marts were on Burnet street, the shops on Church street, grain warehouses on Water street, where also were the hotels for traders. The trade was largely wholesale, the north-western counties of the State and the country along the Delaware forwarding grain, and supplied in turn with fish, salt, dry goods and merchandise. The country south of the city towards Monmouth county was little better than a desert of sand; this was before the mines of marl had been exploited.

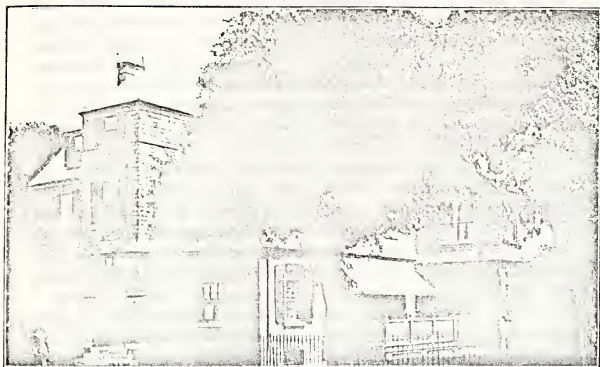
New Brunswick's great industrial awakening had its birth in the thirties and forties of the last century. The city at that time was largely college ruled, its streets with a few exceptions unpaved, no gas or sewers, was supplied only with well water for drinking purposes, which was in danger of being contaminated in the lower portion of the city by the drainage from the upper section, thus being menaced with epidemics of typhoid, though science had not at

that period taken cognizance of the dangerous properties of drinking water thus exposed.

Though there were industries previous to this period, they were of primitive character. New Brunswick in early days being a seaport, it was natural that a shipbuilding industry would be generated, hence an important industry in that line was carried on by the Orams, the Runyons, the Hoaglands, the Kempstons, and the Waterhouses. Large fleet schooners and sloops, also seagoing craft for coast service, as well as barges, were built. Luke Hoagland constructed several yachts for the New York Yacht Club, notable among them the "Minnie," a prize winner; the "Siren," and "Ibis," then the largest steam yacht of the squadron. He afterwards built launches and torpedo boats for the government. When New Brunswick ceased to be a seaport, these industries died a natural death and present-day industries had their beginning.

On January 3, 1836, a locomotive named "New Brunswick," with thirteen cars full of guests, and decorated with banners bearing the names of the counties, cities and villages along the route, operated by the New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company, was received by a committee of citizens in carriages, who escorted the visitors over Albany street bridge to a hotel, where a sumptuous feast was served. At this time all trains stopped across the river, and passengers were transferred across the bridge in stages at a cost of six and a half cents each. The railroad company built a bridge during the year 1837, the first train crossing the river to the depot on Somerset street, January 1, 1838. The company bought the franchise from the New York and Philadelphia Turnpike Company, rebuilding the bridge and using it until they constructed a wooden railroad and wagon bridge on the site of the present railroad bridge. The advent of a railroad and the competition of the canal practically killed the shipping trade of New Brunswick, as it allowed the farmers to send their products direct to market from stations near their farms, and New Brunswick became a deserted village when the railroad came to town, to be revived, however, in the future, by her manufacturing industries.

New Brunswick in 1845, with a neighborhood of 9,000 inhabitants, presented an enterprising city with its courthouse, jail, eight churches, college buildings, bank, one hundred and twenty stores and eight hundred dwellings. Though the streets immediately



JOHN WELLS MEMORIAL HOSPITAL, NEW BRUNSWICK



BUCCLEUCH MANSION, NEW BRUNSWICK

THE RARITAN VALLEY OF NEW JERSEY

on the river were narrow and the ground low, in the upper part of the city the roadways were wide and there were many fine buildings. Two bridges crossed the Raritan, though the Albany street bridge was dilapidated and not much used. The railroad bridge was also used for wagons and foot passengers, the trains crossing the river overhead on the upper portion of the bridge. This continued to be the mode of travel for several years, until the citizens deeming it unsafe, the New Brunswick Bridge Company was incorporated and a new bridge was constructed at the foot of Albany street. This bridge was conducted by the company until July 3, 1875, when it was purchased by the county for \$58,000 and made free.

The city in 1850 having about 10,000 inhabitants, a company was formed for the introduction of gas. Owing to circumstances, this company relinquished its franchises, and the following year John W. Stout, E. M. Paterson, Peter Spader, David Bishop, Benjamin D. Steele and Moses F. Webb received a legislative charter. A company being organized, John W. Stout became president, with John B. Hall, secretary, superintendent and engineer. The erection of works was proceeded with, pipes were laid, and a gas holder built on the corner of Water and Washington streets. The water supply for the city is taken from Lawrence's brook, southeast of the city limits. The works were constructed in 1864, the water being raised by steam pumps to a reservoir. The New Brunswick Water Company, the owner of the works, transferred their interests to the city April 30, 1873, which from this time to the adoption of a commission form of government was managed by a board of water commissioners, their terms of service being three years.

The introduction of rapid transit marked an important era in the history of New Brunswick's progress and enterprise. The legislature on February 13, 1867, granted a charter for a street railway which included an ordinance of the city for a franchise passed November 30, 1866. The parties interested in this charter never availed themselves of its privileges. Matters laid dormant until in September, 1885, when George W. Ballou and F. M. Delano, residents of New York, came to the city, looking for an opportunity to develop street railway territory. After the investigation of several routes, they employed C. T. Cowenhoven as their counsel to take the necessary steps to procure them a legal status. Judge Cowenhoven discovered the existence of the former charter, and that it was

still alive and effective. In February, 1886, he secured from the surviving charter parties a transfer of their rights to the New Brunswick City Railroad Company.

While these movements were in progress, Woodbridge Strong, representing New York capitalists, filed a certificate of incorporation under the general incorporation act for the New Brunswick & Suburban Railway Company, and a struggle was commenced before the city council as to which company should be granted the city franchise. This rivalry was of short duration, it being decided in favor of the Cowenhoven road. The ordinance granting the New Brunswick City Railway Company the franchise was passed by the common council, March 26, 1886. The road was opened for public travel October 14, 1886, and in honor of the occasion the city buildings, business blocks and residences were decorated with flags and bunting. The tracks for this road were laid on College avenue, but later were taken up and the Easton avenue route substituted. The days of street horse car railroads have long since passed into oblivion; those of the elder generation can recall when they had to leave their comfortable seats to place their shoulders at the front or back of the car to help the overworked equines to proceed on their journey. Electricity in course of time was applied to the street railroad system of New Brunswick, and with its introduction the city became the center of a trolley system diverging north, south, east and west, giving connection with New York, Philadelphia, and neighboring cities and towns.

The New Brunswick of the present day is preëminently one of the enterprising and progressive cities of the State. The markets of the world are open to her commercial interests and manufacturing industries, located as she is in direct communication and connection with the two populous seaports of the eastern portion of the Nation. The traveler from the East, reclining in his comfortable seat in a Pullman of today, as he approaches the east bank of the Raritan river, sees spread before him the smoke rising towards the heavens from the large brick chimneys of her thriving manufactures, and in the distance the campus and classic college buildings. In his overhead passage, the highways and byways of the city attract his attention, glimpses are caught of twirling trolley cars, and a busy class of people engaged in the various vocations of life. If he is a student of history, he cannot fail to call to his mind the description of Kalm,

the great Swedish traveler, and the autocratic New Englander, the second President of the United States, who in voluminous notes more than a century and a half ago recorded their impressions of New Brunswick, then in her infancy.

Mention of New Brunswick is not complete without reference to its Rutgers College, famous in the educational annals of the country. This institution, originally called Queen's College in honor of Queen Charlotte, was founded by royal charter November 10, 1766, twenty years after the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, had been founded on the one side, and twelve years after King's College, now Columbia University, had been founded on the other side. The Dutch people, members of the Reformed Church from the Netherlands, were not quite willing to devote their zeal for learning and their pride of institutions to either existing college. The movement for a foundation of their own had begun early in the century with the Rev. Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen; it was substantially fostered by his son, the Rev. Theodorus Frelinghuysen; and it came to accomplishment especially through the efforts of the Rev. Jacobus Rutsen Hardenbergh, the Rev. Johannes Leydt, and the elder Hendrick Fisher. The college apparently did not begin work at once, nor was its location at once determined, nor is there extant any copy of the charter of 1766. In 1770, March 20, the second charter was granted, differing in only slight degree from the first. It was granted by George III. through William Franklin, Governor of the Province of New Jersey. A copy of this charter of 1770, printed in the very year of its granting, is in possession of the college. It is very full and explicit in its provisions. It was so wisely and liberally drawn that very few and slight amendments have seemed necessary or desirable in the one hundred and fifty years since. The occasion of its granting is stated to be a petition from the ministers and elders of the Dutch Reformed churches presented to William Franklin, Esq., Governor of the Province of New Jersey, and expressing the need of the churches for an educated ministry and the need of an institution at home to provide the appropriate education. The charter therefore grants "that there be a College, called Queen's College, erected in our said Province of New Jersey, for the education of youth in the learned languages, liberal and useful arts and sciences." The words thus expressing the original purpose of the College are so broad and far-

reaching that, unchanged, they cover the ideals and activities of the twentieth century college.

In 1781 certain amendments to the charter were ordained by the Legislature of New Jersey. For one thing, an oath of allegiance to the government of New Jersey was substituted for the original oath of allegiance to the crown. For another thing, an original provision restricting the number of ordained ministers among the trustees to one-third of the whole number was repealed. In 1799, by act of the Legislature of New Jersey, the act of 1781 was repealed, but its provisions in effect were reenacted, together with further amendment that oath to support the Constitution of the United States be required of each trustee on his taking office. In 1825, by act of November 30, the charter was amended by the substitution of the name "Rutgers College" for "Queen's College," and the corporate title was ordained to be "The Trustees of Rutgers College in New Jersey." In 1859 the charter received, by act of the Legislature, a further amendment, providing a more liberal property-holding right than that originally conferred. More recent general laws of the State have made such right entirely unlimited. In 1920 an amendment was adopted removing from the charter any aspect of it which might be regarded as sectarian.

The motto of the College is not contained in the charter. It was adopted at a very early time, however, having been suggested, no doubt, by the Rev. John H. Livingston, who returned from the University of Utrecht in 1770 and became at once a leader in church and college affairs. "*Sol Justitiae Illustra Nos*" is the motto of the University of Utrecht. The motto of Rutgers (Queen's) College was made "*Sol Justitiae et Occidentem Illustra.*"

The settlement of Perth Amboy, its location, the planning of its institutions and its thoroughfares, were in no way a matter of accident. Wise heads in Scotland and England planned the new home for their settlers, and figured that they were founding a city which was to rival London as a commercial port and as one of the great cities of the world. Men and women were sent here of the sturdy Scotch stock; the infant Amboy was given the impetus of official approval, and funds were not lacking for all necessities; but for two centuries it proved a laggard, and only within the last three decades has Perth Amboy given any intimation that the hopes of

those who thought and planned for a great city may ever be realized. In early writings reference to the country at the mouth of the Raritan river is found, and more than thirty years before the first shipload of settlers crossed the Atlantic for the new home in America, the region was chartered and an estimate of its advantages and its resources sent back to London for the edification of the royal owners of the land and their retainers.

What is now the land within the corporate limits of Perth Amboy was set aside as the particular property of the Lords Proprietors as early as 1669, so reserved in the charter granted to Woodbridge in that year. The reservation of this tract of land, accessible from tide water, high and dry, without an equal anywhere in the entire State, is credited to the foresight and judgment of Governor Carteret. Its position, as early historians have pointed out, presented facilities for almost every pursuit that an enterprising people might adopt; and the failure to make it a place of more extensive trade than it has yet become, takes nothing from the credit due the first Governor for selecting so eligible a situation for a town.

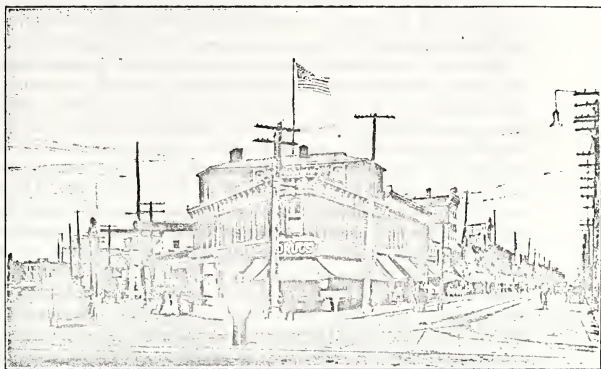
Little was accomplished for the next decade towards the settlement of the point. Samuel Groom, who accompanied Governor Rudyard, who succeeded Carteret, to the province in his official capacity of surveyor-general, surveyed the harbor and sounded the channel from Amboy, as it now began to be called, to Sandy Hook. In his report made August 11, 1683, the surveyor-general says that there were three houses at the Point, and three others were ready to be set up. They were thirty feet long, sixteen or eighteen feet wide, ten feet between joints, with a double chimney made of lumber and clay. Groom laid out the town into one hundred and fifty lots, and under instructions of the proprietors allowed for wide streets, also each house lot to have yard and garden.

The arrival of Gawen Lawrie to supersede Rudyard as deputy-governor gave a new impetus to affairs at Amboy. He, following the instructions of the proprietors, gave the name of Perth to their new town in honor of James, Earl of Perth, one of their associates, and the title of Amboy was dropped for some time except when applied to the Point. In the governor's report, he states that he has finally settled on a place where a ship of three hundred tons can ride safely at anchor and be connected at low tide by plank with the shore; that he had laid out sixty lots of an acre each on the river and forty

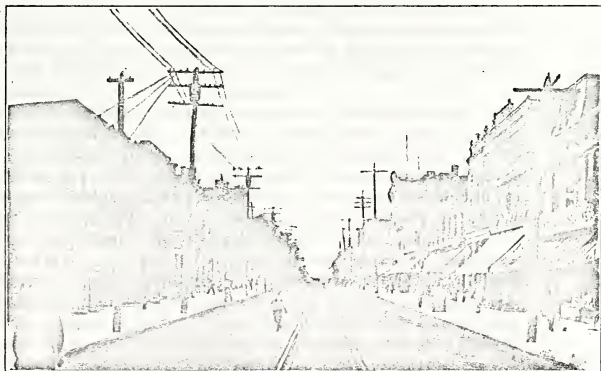
backward between these and the river, the backward lots being on a highway one hundred feet broad, including a place for a market, with cross streets from the river to the market. The governor also laid out four hundred acres divided into forty-eight parts; sixteen of these were taken up by the Scottish proprietors, eight by proprietors residing in the province, twenty were taken by other people, while four acres were to lie until the proprietors agreed to divide it, as people came over; the highways and wharfs were one hundred feet broad, and a row of trees along the river was left for shade. The purchasers of the town lots were to pay £20, and agreed to build a house therein thirty feet long, eighteen feet broad, and eighteen feet high, to be finished within a year. Between forty and fifty acres were reserved for the governor's house, as the proprietors had determined to make Perth the capital of the province.

The quantity of land laid out, including the governor's house and public highways, was estimated at two hundred acres; about the same number of acres three miles up the Raritan river was retained in common to furnish grass for the settlers. It is to be regretted that these plans were not fully carried out; they had to yield to the sordid consideration of the value of the land, and were ignored to facilitate the commercial operations of the new provincial capital. Under strong pressure of the proprietors, the deputy-governor in 1684 carried their wishes into effect and the seat of government was moved from Elizabethtown. Necessary steps were taken to procure the rights and privileges of a port of entry to advance the prosperity of the new town of Perth, and facilitate its commercial intercourse with the other provinces and the mother country.

The actual residence in Amboy of the chief officers of the province is uncertain; Rudyard and Lawrie, while they held lands in the town, never gained a permanent residence. Hamilton and Campbell may have been permanently established, the former prior to 1689 and again from 1692 to 1698; the latter probably during his brief term. After the surrender of the government of the province to the Crown in 1701, while New York participated in the honor flowing from the joint possession of a governor, Richard Ingoldsby was lieutenant-governor under Lords Cornbury and Lovelace, there is no trace of a residence in Amboy of him or any of the presidents of the council who succeeded him down to 1736. Governor Hunter was the first of the royal governors who regarded the province with



THE HEART OF PERTH AMBOY



SMITH STREET, PERTH AMBOY

sufficient favor to secure upon its soil anything like a permanent home. His house was located on a knoll south of St. Peter's Church, commanding a fine view of the harbor, the bay and ocean beyond. This was his official residence while on his tours of duty in New Jersey, here he retired for recreation from the weighty cares of the administration of affairs of the province of New York. His successor, Governor Burnet, purchased the Hunter residence, which he occupied during his term of eight years. There is no evidence that Governors Montgomerie and Cosby ever had a fixed residence in Amboy. The next governor, John Hamilton, built what afterwards became known as the "Lewis Place," overlooking the broad bay formed by the junction of the Raritan and the Sound with Sandy Hook inlet. His successor, Lewis Morris, resided most of his time near Trenton; his successor, Jonathan Belcher, was more pleased with the attractions of Elizabethtown as a home during the ten years of his holding the office of governor. Governor Bernard resided in what was known as the Johnstone Mansion, which stood halfway between the "Long Ferry" and "Sandy Point." During the short period of the administration of affairs by Governors Boone and Hardy, there is no evidence to the contrary of their being permanent residents of Perth Amboy. The last of the royal governors, William Franklin, became the occupant of the Proprietors' House in October, 1774; it was afterwards enlarged and improved and became the residence of Matthias Bruen. It was in this mansion that Governor Franklin was arrested June 17, 1776, by a detachment of militia under Colonel (afterwards General) Heard, by order of the Provincial Convention or Congress.

So slowly were the hopes of the owners of the land realized, that it was not until the census of 1840, a century and a half later after the original settlement, that the population reached 1,000, the figures at the end of that decade being 1,303. An even halfdozen of the royal governors, whose line began with Carteret and ended with the gifted Franklin, made Perth Amboy their home during at least a part of their terms. The first was Robert Hunter, prominent as a soldier and as a writer, besides being of high rank as a statesman. William Burnet, polished and accomplished son of the great bishop of that name, honored the people whom he governed by living among them for a time. Then came John Hamilton, Francis Bernard and Thomas Boone, the latter followed by Franklin, who, like most of

those who came to the Jerseys at all, lived part of the time in Burlington.

As a city, Perth Amboy came into corporate existence in the year 1718, when, under date of August 24th a royal charter was granted upon the recommendation of Governor Hunter. The seal adopted was that in use at the present time, and on which the name of Perth Amboy is used. Perth was taken as a compliment to the Earl of Perth, who was one of the original owners of the land by royal grant. The attempt was apparently made to call the settlement by that name alone, but the designation "Ambo" or "Amboy Point" had become so fixed by constant usage that Perth Amboy was easily agreed upon as the title to be used in the charter. The right to select the mayor was reserved to the royal governor, and it was not until all the prerogatives of the crown were abrogated that the people of the city were allowed to select by ballot their chief magistrate. The governor also named the sheriff and the water bailiff. The recorder and the clerk were also designated by the governor, but the people were allowed to choose the aldermen, assistant aldermen, chamberlain, coroner, overseers of the poor and constables, but none was allowed to vote except he be a freeholder. The device on the city seal is thus described: "On the dexter a hunting horn, and over it *Arte non impetu*; on the sinister a ship riding at anchor in the harbor, under it *Portus Optimus*." The connection between the hunting horn and its motto and the past history or future destinies of the city might afford matter for discussion for a whole college of heraldry, were not the clue presented in Governor Hunter's own escutcheon. The petitioners for the charter for the city missed no chance to win the favor of His Excellency, and placed upon the seal of the corporation the arms of the governor's family.

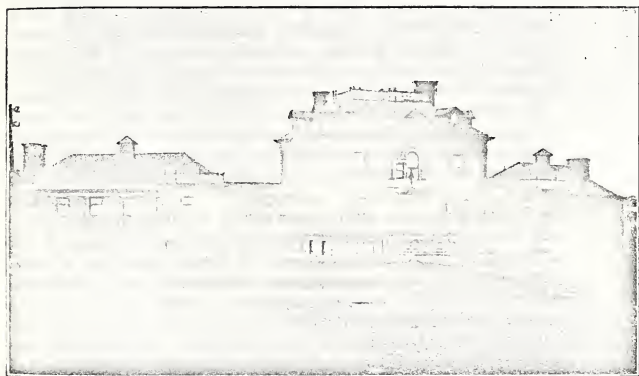
The careless handling of public affairs, which is a curse of American municipalities, manifested itself throughout the history of Perth Amboy. Documents pertaining to the establishment of the city and its institutions are wholly in private hands, if they remain at all. A comparatively few are preserved in the New Jersey Historical Society's vaults in Newark, but even in recent years important papers that should never have been outside the City Hall of Perth Amboy have turned up at auctions and in book stores in various parts of the country even now, to become the property of private collectors, rather than of the municipality to which they belong by a

right and title which cannot be set aside. There are practically no records of the city before 1880, and many since that date are incomplete. This is deeply regretted by every student of local history. Were it not for the records of the State none too faithfully kept as to detail, and the writings of William Dunlap and later of Whitehead, scarcely anything would be known of the first century and a half of Perth Amboy. Both of these writers gave us reminiscent sketches rather than detailed or consecutive historical record, but those interested in the subject are deeply grateful for the morsels that have been transmitted to this generation by these two gifted writers.

In the pre-Revolutionary days, the question of travelling facilities was an important matter. The proprietaries, ever solicitous for the growth of the capital, expressed a wish to Governor Lawrie, in July, 1693, that a convenient road should be established between Perth town and Burlington. This was done by Lawrie the following year, and in connection with the road he operated a ferry boat between Amboy and New York. This line of travel was in opposition to the old Dutch road, which crossed the Raritan river at the present site of New Brunswick. The latter route was preferred by travelers, but as late as 1698 there was no public conveyance for the transportation of either goods or passengers on either route. The ferry boat which Lawrie established takes precedence in the records of all but one established under the proprietary government. In 1669 there was established a ferry at Communipaw for the accommodation of the people of Bergen and Communipaw in communication with New Amsterdam. The proprietaries in December, 1700, granted for fifteen years to Arthur Simson a ferry right between Amboy and Navesink. These three ferries, with the one across the Raritan river granted to John Inian and his wife in 1697, are all that are mentioned in the proprietary records. The Provincial Assembly in 1716 seems to have paid more attention to the condition of public roads. An act was passed confirming all highways that were six and four rods wide, laid out in pursuance of previous laws, and annulling all others. Rates of ferriage were established by public ordinance; about this time there were in existence a ferry from Amboy to Staten Island, and one known as Redford's ferry from Perth to South Amboy. Passengers and produce were also transported direct from South Amboy to Staten

Island. The ferries from Perth Amboy across the Raritan and the Sound were granted in 1719 to George Willocks and his wife. In 1728 Gabriel Stelle received a patent for a ferry from South Amboy to Staten Island, touching at Perth Amboy; these ferries continued to be of essential service until the introduction of steamboats plying between New Brunswick or Amboy to New York.

The first advertisement of a stage route between Amboy and Burlington appeared in March, 1732-3, in which Solomon Smith and James Moore of Burlington were to keep two stage wagons on the route, making trips once a week for the transportation of passengers and freight. There seems to be no opposition to this line of stages until October, 1750, when a new line was established by Daniel O'Brien, a resident of Perth Amboy. His stage boat was to leave New York every Wednesday for Amboy, where on Friday a stage wagon would proceed to Bordentown, where another stage boat would convey the passengers to Philadelphia. The success of this line led to an opposition in 1751, originating in Philadelphia. A boat left once a week for Burlington, whence a stage conveyed the passengers to Amboy Ferry, where a boat commanded by Matthew Iseltine received the passengers for New York. This boat is described as having a commodious cabin, fitted up with a tea table and other conveniences; they promised to make the journey in twenty-four or thirty hours, less time than the competing line; it, however, required the same number of days as O'Brien's line. In June, 1753, Abraham Webb made his appearance with a boat "exceedingly well fitted with a handsome cabin and all necessary accommodations." He probably took the place of O'Brien on the line; for the next year the latter had two boats leaving New York for Amboy on Mondays and Thursdays, unconnected with any special through routes, as he offered to forward merchandise *via* Burlington or Bordentown as parties might choose, both lines meeting at Amboy. John Butler in November, 1756, instituted a New York stage *via* Perth Amboy and Trenton, to make the journey in three days to Philadelphia. The establishment of rival stage routes from New York by the way of New Brunswick to Philadelphia in 1765-66 put an end to the traveling by way of Amboy; the packets, however, continued to run for the transportation of way passengers and merchandise, but less numerous until about 1775, when there was but one sailing between Amboy and New York, under Captain John Thompson.



CITY HOSPITAL, PERTH AMBOY

THE RARITAN VALLEY OF NEW JERSEY

Old as Perth Amboy is, and prominent as it was in the early history of the province of East Jersey, there is little to-day to remind us of the early days of the infant city. Writing nearly three-quarters of a century ago, William A. Whitehead, preëminently the historian of Perth Amboy, said that Perth Amboy had then no crumbling castles, no time-worn battlemented walls, nor monuments of fallen greatness, such as excite the veneration and sympathies of the traveler among the dilapidated cities of the Eastern hemisphere. Since Whitehead's day, the old British barracks, erected midway in the eighteenth century, have been removed; the ground is now the site of the grammar school, a magnificent monument to the efforts of Perth Amboy to educate the children who came to bless the homes of her citizens, to many of whom the public school is a wonderful agency for the Americanization of those of foreign birth or parentage. At the same time there is a growing number who regret that the barracks were not reserved and the grammar school erected elsewhere. Until the destruction of the old buildings, the walls of which were constructed of brick brought from England, the old rifle-pit remained almost as it was when first dug—in summer a pond in which tiny ships were sailed and miniature navies fought their battles; and in winter a safe place for those who sought the pleasures of ice skating.

The old mansion built as the home of the colonial governor of the Jerseys when one capital was maintained in Amboy and the other in Burlington, stands on Kearny avenue. William Franklin, son of the great philosopher and statesman, was the last royal governor of the colony to occupy the mansion. Shortly after the Revolution, the property, comprising a magnificent estate, passed into private hands. Later a destructive fire visited it, but the building was restored and until the Civil War wrecked southern fortunes, it was a favorite summer resort for prominent families from the south of the Mason and Dixon line. It was then known as the Brighton House, with checkered career as a public house of entertainment. After the war was ended, Matthias Bruen presented the entire property to the Presbyterian church to be maintained as a home for infirm clergy, their wives, widows and orphans. Thus it continued for more than a score of years, when the church decided that it could not afford to longer keep it, and returned it to the Bruen family, and it is now in use as an apartment house, occupied

THE RARITAN VALLEY OF NEW JERSEY

by school teachers, lawyers, and other professional people. Many people who otherwise know nothing of Perth Amboy's history are familiar with the Parker Castle, so-called because of the older part of it, built with heavy stone walls in the time when Indians were numerous in these parts and the peaceful citizen sought to protect his sleep at night and his family by day. The frame of the old castle, which sheltered generation after generation of the Parker family for nearly two centuries, was old when the colonies fought the mother country, although erected long after the stone portion had been in use. The building extends from Water street to Front, and years ago the half block bounded by Water street and Willocks lane was Mrs. Parker's garden.

On the corner of Smith and Water streets is the old Parker law office, originally a one-story frame structure which now is two stories high because the Smith street grade was lowered at that point about ten feet. There before the Revolution the Parkers gave legal advice to their townsmen, and were consulted by men of prominence through New Jersey and New York who were glad to have the benefit of their knowledge and advice. There, at the outbreak of the Revolution, Cortlandt Skinner, the royal attorney general, had his office. Two of his students at the time were Andrew Bell and Joseph Bloomfield. Skinner and Bell remained loyal to the British Crown, the former becoming a major-general in his Majesty's forces, and Bell serving throughout the conflict as private secretary to Sir Henry Clinton. Bloomfield led American troops as a major-general, and later was twice governor of New Jersey, besides serving the State well as attorney-general. Bell's old mansion still stands on Kearny avenue, occupied by Miss Emily Paterson, a great-granddaughter of William Paterson, one of the infant State's first two United States Senators, and who graced the Federal Supreme Court.

There is not much left of the original building in which the Provincial Assembly met immediately after the settlement of Ambo Point. It was the capital of East Jersey, and then passed through various degrees of usefulness to the public or semi-public nature for several decades. It was built and rebuilt and enlarged in various directions until for some years it has served as city hall and police headquarters. For many years the upper floor was a lodge room, and the only approach to a place of theatrical entertainment



GREGORY'S GRAVEYARD, PERTH AMBOY

THE RARITAN VALLEY OF NEW JERSEY

of which the city could boast for many years was the room on the second floor now used for the sessions of the city council and the district court.

Several buildings used privately, survived from early colonial days. The home of the East Jersey Club on High street was one of the first built in the city. It was saved from demolition by Dr. Francis W. Kitchel, and occupied by him for more than a quarter of a century. On some old maps of the city it is shown as the residence of Neil Campbell, one of the most prominent immigrants from Scotland to the infant metropolis. John Watson, the first portrait painter in the American colonies, came from Scotland in 1715 and lived here until his death.

The real industrial life of Perth Amboy began with the decision of the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company to make the city its tidewater terminus. Coal wharves were erected, and in 1876 the shipment of anthracite coal to eastern and foreign ports was commenced. After a few years the shipments of coal aggregated more than two million tons annually, and for a long time the total amount handled has been in excess of that total. The coming and going of coal carriers brought other industries to the awakened city. A shipbuilder, Hugh Ramsay, came here and built barges for the railroad company and then for other concerns, private parties and foreign governments. Dry docks were brought here, others were constructed, and for thirty years Perth Amboy has been a center of much activity in this important line of industry.

Then came the tremendous Guggenheim interests and established the gold, silver, copper and lead plant of the American Smelting Company, with the United Lead Company, which closed twenty-six refineries when it opened its Perth Amboy plant. The Lewisohn Brothers established the Raritan Copper Works, which almost at once became the largest electrolytic copper refinery in the world. The Barber Asphalt Paving Company erected huge refineries and subsidiary plants, refining all the asphalt it uses east of the Mississippi here, and turning out thousands of rolls of roofing paper annually. The United States Cartridge Company naturally followed the United Lead Company, and the Cheesebrough Manufacturing Company secured a site on the Raritan river, within the limits of the city, where the vaseline preparations used by the world are

produced. Attracted by the transportation facilities and the large production of copper in Perth Amboy, came the Standard Underground Cable Company, with its parent plant at Pittsburgh and a branch at Oakland, California, to manufacture tens of thousands of miles of wire of all sorts, and employ hundreds of men and women in its various departments.

More than thirty years ago the Roessler-Hasslach Chemical Company came to America and erected a small plant in Perth Amboy, in which a variety of chemicals were produced by methods in use in Germany. To-day the company operates three large plants which turn out coloring materials, cyanides and other equally important chemical commodities, to supply the American market, in addition to fathering the General Bakelite Company, which has its large and important plant here.

From the beginning, clay products have played a large part in the industrial development of Perth Amboy. Beds of clay in and about the city produce that quality of Mother Earth best adapted for fine brick, conduits, building blocks of all sorts and for all uses, and terra cotta. The terra cotta products of Perth Amboy adorn the buildings of this and other lands erected when that was a popular form of architectural ornamentation. To-day the skyscrapers of the great cities of America are being constructed of blocks and tile made in and about Perth Amboy. Calvin Pardee, of the prominent Pennsylvania family of that name so long identified with the mining and shipment of coal, established a tile manufactory, and later a steel rod mill, both of which are now in other hands.





EWING HALL

The Ohio University

BY CHARLES W. SUPER, A. M., LL.D., ATHENS, OHIO



THE HISTORIAN of institutions or of movements, whether they be political, religious or social, is almost certain to mislead his readers if he does not take into consideration preceding and contemporary conditions. We are so prone to project the present into the past, to see with our eyes instead of with the constructive imagination, that unless we are constantly on our guard we will misunderstand and misinterpret the days gone by.

The history of the Ohio University, the earliest venture into the domain of higher education in the Northwest Territory, is an instructive example of what has just been written. When viewed in the light of present conditions, we are prompted to believe that the project was launched either by a company of schoolboys who had a totally inadequate conception of what they were doing, or by men whose enthusiasm far outran their judgment. But when contemplated in the light of the closing years of the eighteenth century, it was altogether rational and wisely conceived. It was one of the first land-grant colleges, if not the first, and if its property had been administered as its founders intended it should be, it would have enjoyed a proportionately far larger income than accrued from the Morrill Bill, which was enacted more than half a century later.

The intellectual and moral forces that led to the founding of a college in a territory in which there were as yet no white settlers, were generated and gradually developed in New England, more particularly in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The specific form in

Note.—It is unnecessary that I should furnish my readers with a list of the sources of the information embodied in this article. But special acknowledgment is due to W. E. Peters, Esq., of Athens, Ohio, whose "Legal History of the Ohio University" has been my guide in all matters coming under the title. I wish also to express my obligations to C. L. Martzloff, Litt.D., at present a member of the college faculty. It is doubtful if any man of his age is more familiar with the history of his native State than Professor Martzloff. For the contents of the article I alone am responsible. For evident reason the terms "college" and "university" have been used as synonyms.
C. W. S.

which the enterprise took shape was mainly due to one man, who was a graduate of Yale College. On the other hand, the original conception seems to have had its origin in the mind of a man who had no systematic education. As Yale was the spiritual father of the western institution, let us consider for a moment its origin and the sort of education it provided in the time when Dr. Cutler was a young man. It seems to have had no legal name until 1745, and no fixed abode until 1716, although it began the work of teaching in a small way about ten years earlier. In 1718 Elihu Yale contributed money and property of the value of about £200 to the infant enterprise, and the trustees gave the name "Yale" to the building they were then erecting in New Haven. The appellation seems to have been an afterthought. It was, however, gradually applied to the college itself, but the charter dates only from 1745. The Yale building was one hundred and seventy feet long, of proportionate width, and three stories high, with an attic. It was used as a chapel, dining-room, library and residence hall. It was the custom of college authorities to provide rooms for students until after the middle of the eighteenth century, and has not even yet been entirely abrogated. No inconsiderable income was derived from this source. For three decades the Yale building seems to have served well its purposes and to have been sufficiently commodious. By the end of this period it had become a good deal dilapidated and was torn down. As young Cutler was an undergraduate during this period, we have a fair idea of his student life and a record of the studies he pursued. I do not find any mention of the number of his fellow-students, but seventy-five is probably above rather than below the actual figure.

Connecticut was at that time much more sparsely settled than Massachusetts, and it was a rare thing for a student to go far from home to attend school. The difficulties of travel had much to do with the founding of colleges in those days. Rarely has a man reaped so much glory from so small an investment as Elihu Yale. He does not seem to have been a resident of New England at any time, in the strict sense of the term, nor does Jeremiah Dummer, a native of Boston and a graduate of Harvard, who was mainly instrumental in securing the donation from Yale. It was small compared with his wealth. The Collegiate School, the predecessor of Yale College, seems to have sojourned temporarily at no less than

six different places and at two different towns at the same time during a short period. The War of the Revolution was a disturbing factor more than once. Latin was prescribed as the principal medium of conversation, but we are not told how regularly the prescription was taken. This was the custom in the German gymnasia, and, in the memory of men still living, some of the lectures at the universities were delivered in Latin. It does not appear that Latin was ever used as a medium of instruction in this country. A story is told of Dr. Nisbet, the first president of Dickinson College, who was called to his post from Scotland in 1783, that on one occasion a student in conversation with him quoted a passage from the *Æneid*. "Go on, young man," said he, "what you have left is as good as what you have taken."

President Thwing, in his "History of Education in America," furnishes some interesting data regarding the subjects studied at Yale in the eighteenth century. In 1733 Euclid became the textbook in geometry. In 1742 elementary mathematics was placed at the beginning instead of at the end of the course where it had hitherto been. In 1763, two years before Manasseh Cutler received his degree, algebra was first introduced. In 1777 the freshmen studied arithmetic; the sophomores algebra and geometry; the juniors trigonometry. In 1734, thirty even pounds were collected and invested in the purchase of apparatus. Dr. Wheelock was the first president of Dartmouth after its removal from Lebanon; he had one assistant. The college was a concrete expression of the sympathy for the Indians which was a characteristic of New England philanthropy for more than a century after the first settlement of the region. Although the Indian portion of the project never amounted to anything, it was not entirely abandoned until 1849. The endeavor to educate the Red Man in a "college" is instructive as showing the significance of the term in these days.

When Williams College began operations in 1793, it had a building, a few books, and funds amounting to \$8,800. There was but one chair for the two ancient languages until 1853. The number of students to the close of the eighteenth century does not seem to have much exceeded twenty-five. It was hardly more than an offshoot of Yale. It was in this college that William Cullen Bryant, who was born in the year of its establishment, spent a few terms after he was sixteen.

When Timothy Dwight became president of Yale in 1795, the faculty consisted of one professor and three tutors. There was no chair of any language until 1805, when Professor Kingsley was given charge of Hebrew, Greek and Latin. At about the same time, Harvard had but one professor in the collegiate department, and he gave instruction in mathematics and natural philosophy (physics). There was no professor of Latin or of Greek until 1811. Under the conditions then prevailing, it need not surprise us to read that Aaron Burr was graduated at Princeton when he was sixteen years old, which was just the age of the college at the time. Young Burr had led a wild life, and was what would now be considered a rather "poor" student. The following story current a few years ago is not apocryphal in spirit, if it is not quite true to the letter. A man was riding in a train engaged with a book. Another entered the car and took a seat beside him. In the course of the conversation that followed, the man with the book remarked to his companion that he had just been elected to the professorship of Greek in a certain college, and that he was on his way to enter upon his duties, but having little knowledge of the subject he was to teach, he was "studying up."

Having thus taken a glance over the educational background of the Ohio University, it will be in order to consider briefly the lure that drew a large number of families from the settled regions east of the Hudson to the wilds that began on the western and northern banks of the Ohio. There were two main attractions. One was the fertility of the soil compared with the greater portion of New England. The other was the Ordinance of 1787. This document, which has been much praised, often over-praised, was in some respects in advance of the time, as there was at that date no constitution of the United States, because there was no United States; in others, it was not only conservative, it was even reactionary. Like many other ordinances, laws and decrees, it was easier to put on paper than to put in practice. We need to consider here only a few of its most important points. "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians, their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and their property, rights and liberty shall never be invaded or disturbed unless in just and



EMIGRANTS EN ROUTE TO THE WESTERN COUNTRY

Reproduced from an old engraving

lawful wars authorized by congress. * * * There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted."

On the other hand, the Ordinance recognized property not only as a qualification for holding office, but even for voting. It provided that the governor of the Territory must be the owner of one thousand acres of land, while other officials must own from five hundred to two hundred acres. The possessor of less than fifty acres was disfranchised. Although the document prohibited slavery, or rather forbade it, the prohibition was for many years a dead letter. No part of the Territory was free soil, although Ohio came nearest to fulfilling this condition. From East Liverpool to Cairo there was only the Ohio river between prospective freedom and actual slavery. Many of those who crossed it took with them their human property along with their other goods and chattels. There was no one to say them nay. A few slaves were in the Territory as late as 1847. A recent writer declares that even in Ohio, during the first twenty-five years of its statehood, a colored man had no more show for actual freedom and equality before the law than a rabbit. The promise was far in advance of the performance.

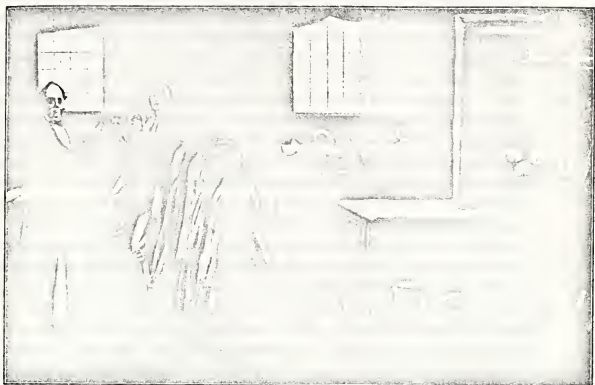
The constitution of the State does not give the negro the ballot. As recently as 1912, when an amendment was voted on striking the word "white" from the franchise clause, it was overwhelmingly defeated. The absurdity of this action is almost incredible, since the colored man who wishes to vote can do so under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

It is also worthy of at least passing mention that Ohio, although the first portion of the new Territory to be settled, was not the first to be occupied. A hundred years before the Ordinance was passed, the French laid claim to a portion thereof, LaSalle being the chief explorer. Neither was the Ordinance the first official document granting complete religious liberty in the United States. In this matter it was preceded by New York, by Pennsylvania and perhaps by one or more of the other colonies. There seems to be no doubt that with the admission of Ohio as a State, a definite policy for aiding education by the government was entered upon. When Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois and Alabama were admitted into the Union, bargains and grants similar to that existing with Ohio were

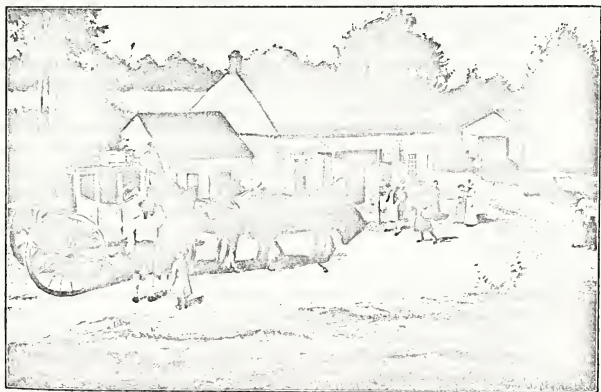
made and given. The grants were however not all of exactly the same type. The total was about eighty million acres, which, at the original valuation of one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre, would have yielded one hundred million dollars. Unfortunately some of the grants, in fact the greater part thereof, were grossly mismanaged, sometimes ignorantly, sometimes dishonestly, if not fraudulently.

By the compact entered into by Samuel Osgood, Manasseh Cutler, Arthur Lee and Winthrop Sargent on behalf of the Ohio Company on the one hand and the Board of Treasury on the other, there being at that time no Federal Executive, it was stipulated that two townships of land should be given or set apart in perpetuity for the purposes of an university. This transaction bears date October 27, 1787. We are not here further concerned with it except to note that the lands were to be appraised at about one dollar and seventy-five cents an acre, and reappraised about three times in a century. It would seem from such evidence as is obtainable at this date that they were taken up with considerable rapidity, and that the two townships were virtually under lease by the year 1820.

As the period of the first reappraisement approached, the trustees of the college, at the suggestion of President McGuffey, incurred debts to an amount mentioned elsewhere in this article, not doubting that such reappraisement could and would be made. That this confidence was well grounded was proved by a committee of the General Assembly and by several decisions of the courts. But alas! "the best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley." The hostility of the lessees is incomprehensible to the present generation. So unpopular had President McGuffey made himself by his efforts in behalf of the college, that he was subjected to personal violence, although not of a serious character, and even hanged in effigy. This hostility manifested itself in various ways until near the close of the century. The law which may be said to have asphyxiated the institution for a number of years, was passed on the tenth day of March, 1843, and reads as follows. "Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, that the true intent and meaning of the first section of the act entitled 'an act establishing a university in the town of Athens,' passed February twenty-first, eighteen hundred and five, that the leases granted and by virtue of said act, and the one to which that was an amendment, should not be subject



OLDEN TIME SCHOOL



THE OLD STAGE COACH
Reproductions from old engravings

to a revaluation at any time thereafter, as was provided for in the act to which that was an amendment." The peculiarity of this act, and one that is rare if not unique in the annals of legislation, is that it is a virtual usurpation by the legislature of a function that belongs exclusively to the judiciary. Notwithstanding this crushing blow, the college authorities did not give up the struggle. Year after year a representative of the trustees appeared before the legislature appealing for relief from the injustice that had been done by the law of 1843. At length, in 1861, "the standing committee on Universities, Colleges and Academies to whom was referred the memorial of the Trustees of the Ohio University for relief from the effects of the act of 1843," submitted a lengthy report summing up the results of their investigation, together with the memorial of the trustees, and expressing the hope that the "next General Assembly may give the whole subject a fuller examination than can now be given it." This report is signed by the committee, of which James A. Garfield, afterwards President of the United States, was the chairman. But the Civil War coming on, the case was not again taken up in this form.

During four successive years beginning with 1867, the State Legislature appropriated in all about \$15,000 "for tuition of soldiers in the State Universities at Athens and Oxford." These sums, though small, had a stimulating effect on the attendance for several years. On the 30th day of March, 1875, the legislature passed the following act: "That the trustees of any institution of learning holding leasehold lands and having authority under the laws of the State to demand a yearly rent on such lands, and the tenements erected thereon, not exceeding the amount of tax on property of like description by the State, said rent being in addition to a yearly rent at six per centum on the appraised value of said lands and tenements, are hereby required to demand and collect said rents for the support of said institution." This bill as written could refer only to the Ohio University; but as the constitution of the State prohibits all special legislation, it was drawn up in such a form as to make it of general application. It is an interesting specimen of legislative legerdemain. By the passage of the act of 1843, the lessees of the college lands were not only exempted from a reappraisement of the real estate: they had paid no State tax until the enactment of the law just cited. The amount of this tax was never

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large, being even at the present time somewhat less than \$2,500 annually, and this sum is distributed among the inhabitants of two townships, each six miles square, including the city of Athens. The passage of the act was however vigorously opposed and then resisted, the lessees forthwith taking their grievance into the courts. One decision after another was, however, against them. After about five years of litigation ending in the Supreme Court of the United States, the case was finally decided in favor of the University. This decision was clearly in accordance with the terms of the original grant. The lessees, however, had some grounds for their claim to exemption. A number of men testified under oath that they had been repeatedly assured by persons interested in the leasing of the college lands that the lessees were forever exempt from the payment of this addition to the rent on the original leases. On the other hand, it would seem to be a self-evident proposition that the exemption from the payment of a State tax was made, not in the interest of the payer, but of the payee. Besides, entirely apart from the merits of the case, the presence of a college in a community or its proximity thereto is always a paying proposition, if it is nothing else.

As the entire income of the college under the terms of the original appraisalment was only about forty-five hundred dollars, we see what ideas a majority of the legislators had as to the amount of money required to carry on an institution of higher learning. The rent, equal to the State tax which, under the terms of the decision just mentioned the lessees were compelled to pay, increased this amount about fifty per cent., as we have just seen. The land values of the two townships including the railroad beds for the year 1919 was nearly \$2,000,000. Although this sum at six per cent. would yield a much larger income than Dr. Cutler believed to be necessary for the maintenance of a college, it is not only small compared with the actual budget, but with the needs, real or imaginary, of a university. According to the treasurer's report for the year ending June 30, 1920, the total expenditures of the Ohio University were in excess of \$330,000. This sum, moreover, does not include the money spent by the students on private account, which was probably not much, if any, less. It would seem that a person of even limited intelligence, or in fact of no intelligence at all, could see, without any special effort, on which side of the proposition the financial bal-

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ance would lie. At present the number of college buildings inside and outside of the campus is about twenty. The average attendance of students has for some years past exceeded a thousand.

In 1881 the University experienced another slight check. In March of said year the General Assembly passed an act appropriating \$20,000 for the purpose of repairing its buildings. Forthwith certain members of the Senate who had vigorously opposed this grant obtained an injunction on the State Treasurer to stop him from paying the money to the treasurer of the University. After a short delay the injunction was dissolved and a peremptory writ in favor of the trustees ordered. This appropriation was later increased by \$10,000.

In the year 1883, another crisis in the affairs of the college may be said to have arisen when President Scott was called to the head of the State University at Columbus. The trustees held several meetings and corresponded with two or more prospective candidates for the vacancy. All declined on account of the uncertainty of the future. During this interregnum a bill was introduced into the legislature with a view to uniting the three State universities under one board of trustees, and naming it the University of Ohio. But the centralizing tendency which it seemed to encourage met with so much opposition that the project was never pushed.

Up to the spring of 1885 the legislature had made no appropriation to the Ohio University for current expenses. To the surprise and gratification of its friends the legislature accepted an amendment to the general appropriation bill, granting about \$5,000 for this purpose. Small as the amount was, it prepared the way for larger sums in subsequent years. The next year \$5,000 were added for a "normal department," the first appropriation for such a purpose in the State. This item was bitterly contested as a useless innovation, and kept in the general appropriation bill by a bare majority. About twenty years later a general bill for the establishment of normal schools in Ohio was enacted into a law, and the Ohio University was made one of its beneficiaries.

The rejuvenation of the Ohio University may be said to date from the enactment by the General Assembly of what is locally known as the Sleeper bill, from the Hon. D. L. Sleeper, the member from Athens county and speaker of the House. By a fortunate concatenation of circumstances the senator from the district to which Athens

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county belonged was also a resident of Athens. The essential part of the law which was passed in 1896 is that "there shall be levied annually a tax on the grand duplicate of the taxable property of Ohio * * * three one-hundredths of a mill upon each dollar of valuation of such taxable property. Of the funds thus collected seven-twelfths are to be paid to the treasurer of the Ohio University and five-twelfths to the treasurer of Miami University." Although the sum at first realized by the two institutions was not large, being only \$57,000, it virtually committed the State legislature to their support. This support has not since been withheld, and has been increasingly liberal, as has just been pointed out.

It is hardly putting the case stronger than the facts warrant, to affirm that during almost half of the first century of the existence of the Ohio University its trustees were either inside the fort defending it against enemy onslaughts, or on the outside trying to collect the tribute which they claimed was justly their due. Not only is it a truth of wide application that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," it is equally true that unremitting watchfulness was necessary, in this case, to prevent the "hostiles" from destroying the University entirely, or reducing it to its lowest terms. I heard more than one of the leading citizens of Athens declare that the college buildings ought to be burned down. Although these men would not have applied the torch themselves, they would not have been grieved or come to the rescue if some one else had done the deed.

The college treasurer also received threatening letters written in a disguised hand, warning him against attempting to collect the additional rent granted by the act of 1876. This rent amounted to less than five cents an acre. On the town property it is a mere trifle. Unfortunately this dreary record is not unique. It can probably be paralleled by the history of many other institutions within the bounds of the United States. If, as Virgil declares, it was a vast work to found the Roman nation, it has been hardly less vast to establish a system of education both higher and lower in many of our States, if not in all.

The governing board of the Ohio University seems to have been constituted on a unique plan. It consists of nineteen members appointed by the governor for life. He is himself an *ex-officio* member, and the president of the college is also president of the board

of trustees. This position makes him the virtual dictator of the policy of the institution and the chief agent in its management. If wisely used by a competent head, no better plan for the management of an educational institution could be devised. On the other hand, if the president be a mere sciolist or a time-server, he is in position to do much harm.

Unfortunately, the center of Athens township did not happen to be a suitable location either for a town or for a college campus. The terrain somewhat resembles a huge toad sitting with its back to the Hockhocking river, and its head to the northeast. There is considerable level land on both river banks; but as it is low-lying and the stream very crooked, when it overflows its banks it becomes almost as wide as the valley. Several times during the life of the present generation it has demonstrated that it is no respecter of property, and once its indifference to human life. Some of the streets are so steep as to be of little value for traffic, while a few points are accessible by means of ladders only, or similar device for mountain climbing. The town is connected with the surrounding country by five bridges, two of which are used by railroads only.

At the southwest corner the college campus approaches so close to the river that there is little more than sufficient space for a street and a railroad. The road, the Baltimore & Ohio, was originally intended to pass under the town, and a great amount of work was done excavating a tunnel and building a long "causeway." Owing to some legal difficulty, the track was laid, temporarily, as was supposed, around the town, or at least around a part thereof, and has never been moved. Nominally the campus occupies ten acres, but a strip along the north side, having been originally set apart for a parade ground, can not be used for buildings. The eastern half is vacant; the western half is partly occupied by a soldiers' monument. Both halves, are, however, kept in fine condition by the college authorities. The grounds are one block from the business center of the city, but they are far from the geographical center. The nine college buildings occupy somewhat more than the southern half; the remainder has been planted in trees. Lack of space compelled the college authorities to erect several of their largest buildings and some of the smaller ones outside of the original ten acres. The athletic grounds and the experimental gardens lie outside of the corporation, occupying a tract of land between the southwest corner

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of the campus and the property of the Southeastern Ohio Hospital for the Insane. The trustees of Miami University at Oxford, which is also one of the early land-grant colleges, were either wiser or more fortunate. They have a campus covering sixty acres of level land, and have therefore sufficient room for expansion probably for all time to come.

The first building on the campus of the Ohio University was completed in the spring of 1809. "It was the first building erected for exclusively educational purposes west of the Alleghany mountains." It was of brick, about twenty-four by thirty feet, two stories high, with a single room on each floor. After being used for school purposes for about thirty years, it was torn down. This structure was near the eastern border of the present campus. The Center building was begun in 1817 and completed within two years. It is fifty by eighty-two feet, and three stories high. The original walls and the tower still stand, but the roof has been raised about four feet, the windows have been enlarged, and the interior completely remodeled. It no longer contains rooms for students. The two "Wings," as they are familiarly called, although detached, are forty by sixty feet and three stories high. They were completed in 1837 and 1839. Within recent years they have also been completely remodeled and are used for various purposes. For more than half a century they were used almost exclusively as dormitories, for which they were erected. At present the college provides no rooms for male students.

When the administration building was erected, officially known as Ewing Hall, so named in honor of the Hon. Thomas Ewing, the most distinguished graduate of the University, it was intended that the West Wing should be torn down. This has not been done. One result is that it virtually stands in front of a small portion of the new building. This architectural blunder would have been avoided if the later structure had been located about twenty feet farther west.

When Athens was incorporated in December, 1800, there were not more than a half dozen houses, or rather cabins, within the town plat. At the same time the population of Cincinnati was about 750; ten years later it had increased to one thousand souls. Athens was the second village incorporated within the bounds of the Northwest Territory, Marietta having preceded it by about three weeks.

Until recent years, Athens has been by far the most populous township in the county. At present it is "hard run" by York, which owes its prosperity to the coal mines within its borders.

Having thus sketched in outline what may be called the external history of the Ohio University, its trials and tribulations, the legislation and litigation in which it was a participant, I proceed to a brief survey of several men who were more or less closely identified with it during the first century of its existence. There is little doubt that Manasseh Cutler and his fellow-citizen of Connecticut, Nathan Dane, a graduate of Harvard, were the principal authors of the Ordinance of 1787. The former was without doubt the most versatile and the most widely read member of the group with which he co-operated. He was born in 1742, and graduated from Yale College in 1765. He was a chaplain in the Revolutionary army, a member of the Colonial Legislature, of the National Congress, a practicing physician, and a scientist of considerable note. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from his *alma mater* in 1789. He was also a member of the American Academy of Sciences, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and an honorary member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. In 1788, after the pilgrims from the East had made some progress in their new settlement at the mouth of the Muskingum, Dr. Cutler spent a few weeks among them, and to the end of his days took a deep interest in their welfare. He died in 1820. In a letter to General Rufus Putnam dated June 3, 1800, he shows that he had pondered deeply the problem of the prospective University. He writes, among other things, that as an American Congress had made the grant, no name appeared to him more appropriate than "American University; I hope the name will not be changed." He had also considered the name "Western University." Here we see what limited views men in those days had of what was connoted by the term "western." A weekly newspaper published in Cincinnati is still called the "Western Christian Advocate," while one issued in Saint Louis is denominated the "Central Christian Advocate." Dr. Cutler also devised the plan by which he desired the University to be governed. He thinks the institution should have not only a president but also a vice-president. He is of the opinion that the trustees ought to live near the college, or at least on the college lands. His ideas about limiting the income of an educational institution are to us almost incredible. "If your As-

sembly (legislature) would not be likely to make any limit, it might be best to say nothing about it. But if they will do it, I am certain that forty or fifty thousand dollars can not be too high, as it must be applied to one of the most useful and important purposes to government and to society. The sum sounds large, but no one can say to what amount the income of the endowment of this University may arrive in the end."

If a large city had grown up on any part of the college lands, Dr. Cutler's most sanguine possibility might have been realized; not, however, under present conditions and prospects. Among the men who were indirectly identified with the University and the town (now the city) of Athens, a few who are not mentioned elsewhere in this article deserve a brief notice. To this list belongs General Rufus Putnam. He was the founder of Marietta, the first white settlement in Ohio. He was born in Massachusetts in 1738. Although almost entirely self-taught, he distinguished himself in later life as a military officer, as a surveyor, as a legislator and as a judge. He was the personal leader of the first band of settlers who made the journey to the "Far West," although it was far from New England only. The company, after a laborious passage across the Alleghanies, arrived at Marietta on the seventh of April, 1788. The following year General Putnam was appointed a judge of the supreme court of the district. He appears to have had every qualification of the patriotic citizen, of the far-seeing statesman, and of the honest and honorable man. On the outward journey he exercised the supreme command, and also in the infant colony until the arrival of General St. Clair. He was a trustee of the Ohio University until his death in 1824.

In his correspondence with Washington appears for the first time, so far as is known, the suggestion that Congress, which had at its disposal an abundance of land and no money, should provide endowments for education. Benjamin Tupper was his right-hand man.

Probably the only alumnus of the Ohio University who in later life achieved a nation-wide reputation was Thomas Ewing. He was born in Virginia, but his father moved to Ohio when the son was only a few years old. He earned money with which to support himself while at college, by boiling salt in his native State. In the early days of Ohio, and indeed of the entire northwest country, the

making of salt was an important industry. It survived in the vicinity of Athens until near the close of the last century. Mr. Ewing received his degree irregularly in 1815, as the college classes were not organized until five years later. From 1831 to 1851 he was variously employed in the service of the nation. Thereafter to the date of his death he was engaged in the practice of law at Lancaster, Ohio. He was related to the well known Sherman family, both Senator John Sherman and General William T. Sherman having been born in Lancaster.

Daniel Read, of the class of 1824, was born in Marietta, and died in Iowa in 1878. At the time of his death he was believed to be the oldest teacher in continuous service in the United States. His last position was that of president of the State University of Missouri. He seems to have occupied in succession almost every chair in existence in his time.

The Ohio University and the town of Athens for an entire century occupied an important place in the leadership of the Methodist Episcopal church. Bishop Ames was born in the township of Athens county which still bears his family name. He was for several terms a student in the college. He was consecrated bishop in Boston in 1852. Bishop McCabe was born in Athens, but it does not appear that he was at any time connected with the University. Bishops Cranston and Moore were both born in Athens, and received their baccalaureate degrees from the local institution. Of these four ecclesiastical dignitaries, only Bishop Cranston survives, at the age of eighty.

Charles H. Grosvenor was born in Connecticut, but when five years old was taken by his parents to Ohio. He entered the Union army as a private in 1861, and when mustered out of the service in 1865 had risen to the rank of brigadier-general. He was a member of the General Assembly, and speaker of the House for one term. He was an influential member of the National Congress for about twenty years. He was a life-long resident of Athens, and was chiefly instrumental in securing the Carnegie Library for the University. Although managed by the college authorities, it is free to the citizens of the community. General Grosvenor died in 1917.

The names of only two colored men appear on the alumni roll of the University, previous to the end of the first century. One of these, John Newton Templeton, was a clergyman and teacher for

some time, but nothing is known of his later life nor the place and date of his death. The career of J. C. Corbin, who received his baccalaureate degree in 1853, has been altogether creditable. He was editor of several different newspapers. For one term he was the State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Arkansas, and also president of the State Colored Teachers' Association. He is said to have been an accomplished linguist and a musician of considerable ability. At various times during the last half century a few colored students have been in attendance for short periods.

The name of the first alumna appears in the class of 1873. The name of another young woman appears with the class of '76, and the names of two in the class of '79, after which date they are common.

For more than three decades after the opening of the University, the authorities do not seem to have issued a catalogue. None can at present be found of earlier date than 1843. At that time the faculty consisted of five men, William H. McGuffey being the president. There was a professor of Latin and one of Greek. The number of students was one hundred and eleven, of whom sixty-two were in the collegiate department. In said catalogue we read that "the student, at the commencement of the junior year, may elect to continue the mathematical course or to commence the study of French in the place thereof." In the catalogue of '60-61 appears for the first time the name of a professor of French and German. There were, at the earlier period, two literary societies in the college, and a Natural History Society. "The necessary expenses of an academic year, exclusive of furniture, books and clothes, will be from \$85 to \$105." In 1851 the faculty consisted also of five men, one of whom was designated as Professor of Greek and one as Professor of Latin. The number of students was sixty-four. Of these a few more than one half are classed as preparatory and irregular. The conditions for entrance in Greek and Latin were comparatively high. The postulant must be acquainted with "Greek and Latin Grammar, Latin Reader, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Cicero's *Orations* or *Sallust*, and the *Greek Reader*." Latin is continued through two-thirds of the junior year, and Greek one term longer, there being three terms in the year. The decrease in the number of students was at least partly due to the interregnum mentioned elsewhere in this article.

A contributing cause may also have been the establishment of other schools of like grade. Three of these were at no great dis-

THE OHIO UNIVERSITY

tance from Athens. Marietta was chartered in 1830. Of nearly the same date are the charters of Muskingum College at New Concord, and of Denison University at Granville. Owing to the impossibility of the trustees to secure a reappraisement of the college land, they found themselves unable to pay an accumulated debt of about \$14,000 in 1844. After the resignation of President McGuffey, the college was carried on in a haphazard sort of a way until April 2, 1845, when the trustees resolved that "in view of the present depressed conditions of the University in consequence of its financial embarrassment, the falling off in the attendance of students, it appears indispensable for a time to suspend the ordinary operations of the college." During the period of suspension, which was to begin on the first Thursday in August, 1845, "unless circumstances should justify an earlier resumption," the Rev. Aaron Williams was authorized to continue the work of the academic or preparatory department, at a salary of \$600 *per annum*, with the addition of tuition fees until the whole should amount to \$800. Mr. Williams was also to have general charge and care of the college property. For two years he was the entire faculty; during the third year he had an assistant. College work was resumed in the fall of 1847 with a very small attendance of students, the accumulated debt having meanwhile been liquidated as the rents from the college lands, of course, continued to come in.

Jacob Lindley was graduated from Princeton in 1793, at the age of twenty-four. Five years later he was installed as the pastor of the Presbyterian church at Waterford, Ohio, now the name of one of the townships of Washington county, the same county in which Marietta College is situated. His connection with the Ohio University begins with the year 1805 and continued until 1838, when he removed to the State of Mississippi. He was the first instructor in the college, which began operations in 1809 with three students, although the charter is dated five years earlier. He had one assistant, William Sawyer, a graduate of Harvard. He is said to have had an unfortunate penchant for strong drink. In 1818 Joseph Dana was employed as Professor of Latin and Greek. The faculty was organized in 1822. It consisted of a president, a professor of mathematics, a professor of rhetoric and moral science, a professor of languages, and a preceptor.

During the next two years the affairs of the college seem to have

been in a somewhat chaotic condition. In 1824 the Rev. Robert Wilson was elected president. He was a native of North Carolina and a graduate of Dickinson College in Pennsylvania. The year of his birth was 1768. At the time of his election he was the pastor of the Presbyterian church at Chillicothe. He held the presidency for fourteen years. He resigned in 1838 on account of advancing years, although he lived until 1851. President Wilson was succeeded by William H. McGuffey, a name that was familiar to almost every American who attended a public school in the last half of the nineteenth century. He was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, in 1806, but when quite young his father migrated into Ohio, where the lad grew to manhood.

The elder McGuffey, who was a sturdy farmer, saw little need of what is called education, and discouraged his son's fondness for books. As there were at that time no schools in the region where the family lived, the boy walked several miles two or three times a week to recite to a preacher the lessons he had learned at night by the light of a torch made of burning pine-knots. When his pupil was eighteen years old the teacher considered him sufficiently advanced to enter Washington College, an institution that had been chartered in 1806. He received his baccalaureate degree in 1826, earning his way by teaching wherever he could find employment. His last engagement of this kind was in Paris, Kentucky, where he taught a school in a smoke-house that was still standing a few years ago.

In 1836 a college was organized in Cincinnati, and McGuffey was elected president, but it continued in operation only three years when it was closed for lack of funds. After his rather brief but very stormy career at Athens, he returned to Cincinnati to accept a position in the Woodward High School. Some years later William Rives, a member of the board of visitors of the University of Virginia, heard Dr. McGuffey lecture, and was so impressed with the personality of the man and his power as a speaker, that upon his recommendation he was invited to become a member of the faculty of the University. In the service of that institution he spent the remainder of his life, teaching, preaching and lecturing. One day in the spring of 1873, after delivering a lecture to children, he was taken ill with an affection of the brain, and died a few weeks later. During his residence in Cincinnati, he was one of a coterie of schoolmen who became dissatisfied with the textbooks then in use. They

accordingly decided to prepare a series on a rational plan. The "Eclectic Series" was the result. The "Readers" were assigned to McGuffey, as he was regarded the best qualified for the task. They contain no original contributions by him, but include a few by E. D. Mansfield, who was one of the junta. Dr. McGuffey was a fluent speaker, but not a profound thinker. His manner in the pulpit was expository rather than hortatory, hence he was better fitted for teaching than for preaching. He does not seem to have written anything that has been preserved. A citizen of Athens used to relate that in his boyhood he frequently drove President McGuffey to churches and school-houses where he was to preach. On such occasions he was wont to ask the youth to suggest some verse of scripture to be used as a text for the sermon. Although ordained as a regular minister of the Presbyterian church, it does not appear that he ever held a regular pastorate.

The Rev. Alfred Ryors was a native of Philadelphia, and a graduate of Jefferson College, which was later merged into Washington and Jefferson. He had been connected with the Ohio University for several years when he was elected its president in 1848. After four years of service he was called to the head of the Indiana University. He was succeeded by the Rev. Solomon Howard, a native of Cincinnati, and a graduate of Augusta College in Kentucky. After holding several positions in the schools of Ohio, he was elected to the presidency of the Ohio University in 1852 and continued in office until 1872. He was the first Methodist who held the position. He was a somewhat eccentric character, and some of his "breaks" are still remembered by older Athenians. He is reported to have declared on a certain occasion that there was more Sabbath-breaking on Sunday than on any other day of the week. At another time he pointed to a large beech tree in the college campus and informed his hearers that it was not so long ago that it was nothing but an acorn. His successor was William H. Scott, who has been mentioned elsewhere.

Editor's Note.—The writer of the foregoing narrative, Charles W. Super, was the seventh president of Ohio University. He was born in Pottsville, Penn., September 12, 1842. He was reared in humble fashion, and his early education was mainly self-acquired. He was graduated from Dickinson College, paying his way in large degree from his earnings as a school teacher, and for three years after graduation, continued such. In 1869-70 he made special studies of Latin, Greek and Hebrew in the University of Tübingen, Germany. After his return home he resumed teaching, and was for six years professor of languages in Cincinnati Wesleyan College, at different times teaching

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Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, Spanish, Italian and German. In 1879 he was appointed Professor of Greek in Ohio University. In 1882 he visited Europe, making a study of the school systems of various countries. In 1883 he came to the headship of Ohio University to supply a vacancy, and the next year was elected president, which position he resigned in 1907 to devote himself to literary work. He is the author of numerous published volumes, and a contributor to many periodicals in English and German. Two of his latest works belong to the World War period, and are valuable additions to the literature of that time—"German Idealism and Prussian Militarism," which was translated into the Czecho-Slovak language; and "Pan-Prussianism."

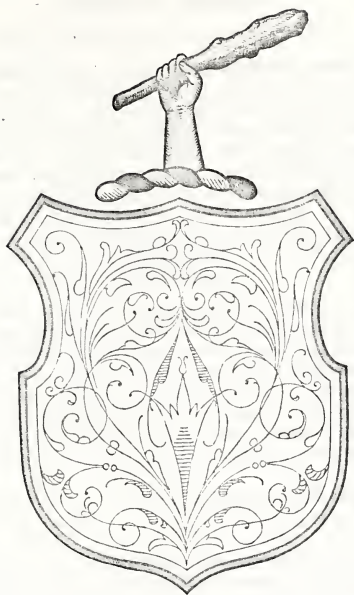




Lucius L. Culver



Mary Culver



Culver

Lucius L. Culver

BY WINFIELD S. DOWNS, NEW YORK CITY



ALTHOUGH at no time a very numerous family, the Culvers or Colvers are readily traced in many of the English shires. The name is found in various forms of spelling, such as Colver, Collver, Coluer, Culver, and Cullver. Several excellent authorities state that the family originated in Saxony, and that the descendants in England and later in America were of Saxon ancestry. In America the various branches have invariably used one or the other of the two forms, Culver and Colver, both of which are found in the old records applying to the same person. The name is the application as a patronymic of the word "culver," meaning a pigeon or dove.

Edward Culver, the founder of the family in America, came from one of the southeastern countries of England to America in 1635 with John Winthrop, the younger, son of John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts. Edward Cutler settled first at Dedham, Massachusetts, with his wife Ann, removing later to Connecticut, and residing in turn at New London, Groton, and New Haven. He was a soldier in King Philip's War, and had a grant of land in New London, on the Mystic river, on the water side, next south of the Fort land.

The American branch of the family bears the following crest:

A dexter cubit arm holding in the hand a club proper, underneath the crest an empty shield argent.

The name of Culver is inseparably connected with the city of St. Louis, Missouri, through the career of Lucius Lewellyn Culver in industrial and commercial relations, and through the interested and generous activity of Mr. and Mrs. Culver in civic, philanthropic, and charitable enterprises. In the two decades that have passed since the death of Mr. Culver, Mrs. Culver has continued alone the works that were formerly their joint interests, and with steadfast devotion she has made the alleviation of suffering and the aid of the unfortunate her guiding aim of life.

LUCIUS L. CULVER

Lucius Lewellyn Culver was born in Champaign county, Ohio, March 18, 1839. His early youth and young manhood were uneventful, his education one of fair proportions, and for a few years after his marriage he resided in Illinois, moving to St. Louis about 1876. His business career in that city covered less than a quarter of a century, but into that period he put an almost unbelievable amount of energetic labor in industrial connection.

About 1881 he became a founder of the Wrought Iron Range Company, of St. Louis, and for a number of years was officially identified with this organization, its prosperity and successful continuance largely due to his clarity of judgment, determination in the attainment of desired ends, and close personal touch with all branches of the concern.

After severing his relations with the Wrought Iron Range Company, Mr. Culver did not immediately re-enter the manufacturing field, but in 1890 organized the L. L. Culver Manufacturing Company for the manufacture of furnaces for hot water heating systems. In 1891 the business was reorganized on a larger scale as the Majestic Manufacturing Company, and Mr. Culver became president of this organization, associating with himself, in 1892, Messrs. John Fowler and R. H. Stockton. Mr. Stockton was vice-president and Mr. Fowler secretary and treasurer of the company, and the manufacture of Majestic Malleable Iron Ranges was begun. This range embodied original ideas of Mr. Culver and met every domestic requirement. Mr. Culver was president of this company at the time of his death, and in addition to leadership in the determination of the policy of the company, made the active charge of the factory his especial province.

In the course of his work, Mr. Culver came to the conclusion that he had designed a range immeasurably superior to any then on the market. Notwithstanding the fact that the market for cooking stoves was at that particular time overstocked, and that prudence and conservatism would have dictated delay in introducing this new model, he formulated plans for its manufacture and sale, giving to the stove trade and to the purchasing public the first steel and malleable iron range manufactured. Its outstanding merit won general favor and a judicious and widespread advertising campaign placed the new range in the lead in national demand. The result was a flood of orders that taxed the capacity of their foundry





Ann Bell (Dunlap) Comegys

LUCIUS L. CULVER

to the limit. Mr. Culver's associates attributed to his courage and proved judgment, as well as to his inventive genius, this splendid achievement, and credited to him the prosperity that attended the enterprise. He combined the qualities of the capable, industrial manager with those of the far-seeing, constructive executive, and in paths of unquestioned honor he led the way to commercial influence and material fortune.

Mr. Culver, close as was his application to the large interests that claimed so much of his time and attention, was ever ready to aid any movement toward civic improvement or any undertaking of progress. He was a dependable factor in the support of any project appealing to the high citizenship of St. Louis residents, and charitable enterprises and philanthropic works knew his generous friendship.

Lucius Lewellyn Culver married, in Danville, Illinois, in 1860, Mary E. Comegys, born in Champaign county, Ohio, March 19, 1841, daughter of Cornelius and Ann Bell (Dunlap) Comegys. Mr. Culver died in St. Louis, February 11, 1899.

Mrs. Culver has continued her residence in St. Louis, where she has long been prominent socially, and where her kindly spirit and sympathetic nature have found expression in the most helpful charitable work of the city. Her life is a long record of constant devotion to her husband during his lifetime, and of watchfulness for opportunities to do good. Most of her kindly acts have been unheralded, performed solely to meet an insistent need and to fulfil the deep convictions of stewardship she so keenly feels. For a long period of years she has been the loyal friend of the L. L. Culver Union Hospital Association, which is located at Whitlock Place, Crawfordsville, Indiana.

The Hospital building above mentioned was dedicated on Thanksgiving Day, November 28, 1892, having been erected at a cost of \$12,000. It was the outgrowth of the work of the Women's Union, an organization performing systematic social service in Crawfordsville, but whose endeavors had been handicapped by lack of finances to support the hearty enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of its members. Mrs. Culver became interested in their work, joined the Association as a life member, and, impressed with the vision of their work, made an initial gift of \$10,000 for the building of the hospital,

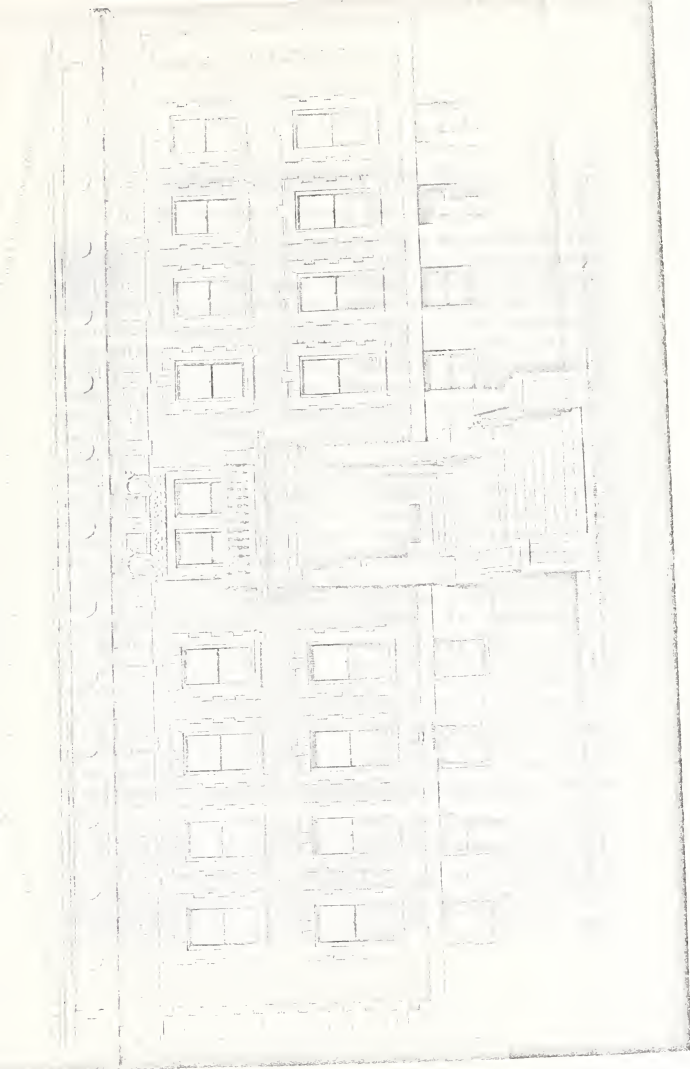
LUCIUS L. CULVER

and later added to the fund until her gift totalled \$13,200. The hospital, which had previously been known as the Union Hospital, its incorporated title, was renamed the L. L. Culver Union Hospital, in recognition of its benefactress, and as a memorial to her revered husband.

The Blind Girls' Home of St. Louis is another of Mrs. Culver's especial interests and the recipient of her liberal aid, while no opportunity to lighten the burden of her fellows, to smooth their paths, or to help them along life's journey, is neglected by her. The distinguished service of her husband, and the large measure of good she has accomplished with her means and influence, have made the name of Culver a blessing to St. Louis.

Advertisement.





Robert Thompson Van Horn

BY FENWICK Y. HEDLEY, NEW YORK CITY



THE subject of this narrative was a superb type of that class of "Easterners" (as they were formerly known in the Middle West) who were factors of first importance in the development of the commercial and political importance of a large part of the region then known as "The West," and particularly that greater portion of the State of Missouri lying inland from the Mississippi river, and that contiguous expanse which became the State of Kansas, but which then figured in school geographies as "The Great American Desert," incapable of cultivation or human habitation.

Col. Robert Thompson Van Horn, born at East Mahoning, Indiana county, Pennsylvania, May 19, 1824, was of Holland ancestry, son of Henry Van Horn, a farmer, of Bucks county, Pennsylvania, and a grandson of Isaiah Van Horn, who was a Revolutionary War soldier, as were two of his brothers. Young Van Horn was reared upon a farm, and had the most meagre school facilities—reading and writing, a very little geography without aid of maps, and a smattering of elementary arithmetic. At the age of nineteen he was apprenticed to a printer, "learned the trade," and traveled in several States as a "jour printer"—a name which designated a unique character who disappeared many years ago, of whom it may be said as of the lost star in the Pleiades, "while it lived, it shone." At intervals young Van Horn was clerk in a store or on a Mississippi or Ohio river steamboat. In these varied callings he gained a profound knowledge of what does not lie within the folds of text-books or on the tongue of school teachers—a knowledge of man, of his thoughts and aspirations and hopes and fears—a knowledge which

NOTE.—This narrative by the editor of this work is written in the light of an intimate personal acquaintance with his subject, and contains matter derived from him in his own home by word of mouth, and from diaries and letter books, with no view to its publication, and which has never before been committed to the press. An admirable pen-picture of the Kansas City of Col. Van Horn's early days there is to be found in a once widely read volume, "Beyond the Mississippi," published in 1866, by Albert D. Richardson, secretary of the Kansas Territorial Legislature, and a famous journalist, war correspondent of the New York "Tribune" during the War for the Union.

This narrative is from Vol. IX of "Encyclopedia of American Biography," (The American Historical Society, Inc.), now in press.

was to be of vast advantage to himself and to his fellows in future years.

In 1855 he landed at Kansas City, Missouri, then a village of less than five hundred inhabitants. It was of some little consequence, however, for (railroads had not yet come) it was at the head of navigation on the Missouri river, and was the distributing point for food and supplies brought by boat from St. Louis, for the population there gathered, and for homeseekers in the neighborhood and those who were outfitting to cross the plains. Van Horn, with acute vision, foresaw the great city of the future, and determined to cast his lot there. The first newspaper had already appeared, a trifling sheet which was in a moribund condition. This he bought, paying for it his entire fortune of \$250, and giving his note for as much more. This was the beginning of the "Kansas City Journal," which after many privations and much heroic struggle he brought to nationwide recognition as the first of the markedly influential newspapers of all that region. It is truth to say that none other contributed in so large degree through the many years following which brought journalistic rivals, to the inauguration and development of all the varied interests that combined to make up an important metropolis—interests agricultural, commercial, industrial, educational, and religious. The whole story of such a life as that of Colonel Van Horn during those days of upbuilding, would be a thrilling recital of pioneer conditions, of struggles and privations, and of dangers innumerable.

Colonel Van Horn's part in the creation of Kansas as a Free State and the holding of Missouri to the Union at the outbreak of the Civil War, are most unique episodes in American history. Abhorring human slavery, he was of that great class of his day who would not seek to uproot the system from where it had existence, holding that its protection under the constitutional compact was sacred. But he vehemently opposed its extension beyond those limits. He aided the Kansas Free-soilers with all his might, against the pro-slavery incursionists, and on more than one occasion saved the lives of free-soil leaders. His conduct when war was imminent was heroic in the extreme, and marked with incidents of dramatic force. In the spring of 1861, very soon after the firing upon Fort Sumter signalized the beginning of war, at the mayoralty election in Kansas City the issue of Union and Secession was distinctly made;

and, so far as the writer has knowledge, the incident is without counterpart in the country. Colonel Van Horn, a Douglas Democrat, was the Union candidate, and his partner in the management of "The Journal" at that time was the Secession candidate. Colonel Van Horn was elected, and the defeated candidate left for the South to join his fortunes with the Confederate army then forming. Missouri had a Secession governor, and Kansas City a Secession chief of police who antagonized Mayor Van Horn. Determined to put down the secession element, which was preparing to seize the city, Mayor Van Horn made a visit to the United States Arsenal near St. Louis, where he held a consultation with certain Union leaders and with Captain Lyon (afterward that General Lyon who fell in the battle of Wilson's Creek), and as a result of that conference, that officer sent a detachment of government troops to Kansas City to preserve order, as aid to the civil government represented by Mayor Van Horn. Meantime Mayor Van Horn formed a military organization entitled "Major Van Horn's Battalion," to which Captain Lyon furnished arms. This effected, the federal troops were withdrawn, and Mayor Van Horn's authority, supported as it was by Major Van Horn's own Battalion, was indisputable. His letter books covering this period (and which have been seen by the writer of this narrative), are of great significance, and, while the transactions they record were of the utmost importance, the reader may well smile at the humorous construction of which they are susceptible, and which undoubtedly brought smiles to the face of Major and Mayor Van Horn as he was phrasing them. He drew the line between civil and military authority with the most exact discrimination, as illustrated on several occasions. At times, when he was desirous of carrying out some particular purpose in repression of secession activities, as mayor he would address to himself as Major Van Horn a request for a military force to report to him and be subject to his orders; to which Major Van Horn would make formal reply that he had placed his battalion under the orders of Mayor Van Horn. The end justified the means; Kansas City remained under loyal control, and was made the recognized stronghold of Unionism in Western Missouri and Kansas.

Major Van Horn, with his battalion as a nucleus, now took a leading part in the organization of the 25th Missouri Infantry Regiment, entering with the rank derived from his first command, was

promoted lieutenant-colonel, and then to the colonelcy. He participated in the battle of Lexington, Missouri, where he was wounded. Later, with his regiment, he was of General Grant's first army, and took part in the two days' battle of Shiloh, Tennessee, where his horse was killed under him. Incapacitated for field service by his wound, he returned home to take his seat in the State Senate, to which he had been elected while he was absent in military service, and in that body he labored zealously and with marked ability in defeating the purposes of the disloyal element which constantly sought to embarrass the government by refusing to raise troops or provide for their equipment and maintenance. His intimate knowledge of conditions in Missouri and Kansas, and his rugged honesty, commanded the respect and confidence of President Lincoln, who more than once called him into conference with himself. A notable instance was that when the Unionists of Missouri were divided into two bitterly hostile factions, which with the information he derived from Colonel Van Horn and his associates, and his own consummate diplomacy, the President was enabled to conciliate.

In 1864 Colonel Van Horn was elected to the Thirty-ninth Congress, and by consecutive re-elections served for three terms; then, after an intermission was elected to the Forty-seventh Congress in 1888. As a congressman, he was untiring in his efforts to procure the passage of acts of importance to the rapidly growing West, and others of national importance. Many of the bills he himself framed and introduced, among them one for the improvement of navigation on the western rivers, particularly the Missouri, the great commercial artery reaching the Mississippi; and another for the first railroad bridge across the Missouri, that at Kansas City. In all matters relating to the Indians, he was a first authority, and was author of certain legislation affecting them or their relations with the whites. His was the bill for the organization of the Territory of Oklahoma, though it was not enacted until later. His influence went farther than that of any other in effecting a treaty with the tribes in the Indian Territory, under the provisions of which a right of way through it for its first railroad was secured. His services in these and other respects, affecting conditions in the rapidly expanding West, were so highly appreciated by the Republicans of Missouri and Kansas, that they united in a strong appeal to

President Hayes to appoint him to the Secretaryship of the Interior, but the appointee had been already chosen.

During all these years, Colonel Van Horn kept his newspaper in the forefront of journalism. A vigorous writer, absolutely devoid of selfishness, he sturdily advocated every project that could add to the development of his city or of the region tributary to it, many such being of his own initiation. Not a railroad which has yet entered the city but was advocated by him long before a charter was procured or a dollar subscribed for its building; and the most important of its industries, all of its early ones, owed to him in large degree their establishment. While thus industriously employed in material concerns, they by no means monopolized his attention. Despite his lack of education in the usually accepted meaning of that term—scholastic training,—he was superbly equipped. From his youth a diligent reader, his mind was well stored, and he was a clear and logical thinker. For many years he wrote for his paper, in addition to his usual editorial work, a department in which he discussed scientific, moral, philosophical and socio-economic questions in brilliant style, with great originality and fearlessness, pointed with keen satire and sparkling wit. At times his analytical mind led him into the domain of metaphysics, in which he displayed a profundity beyond the mental depth of many of his readers, and which led one of his admiring friends to say of him, as was said of one by Bret Harte:

"His views of heaven were very free;
His views of earth were painfully
Ridiculous."

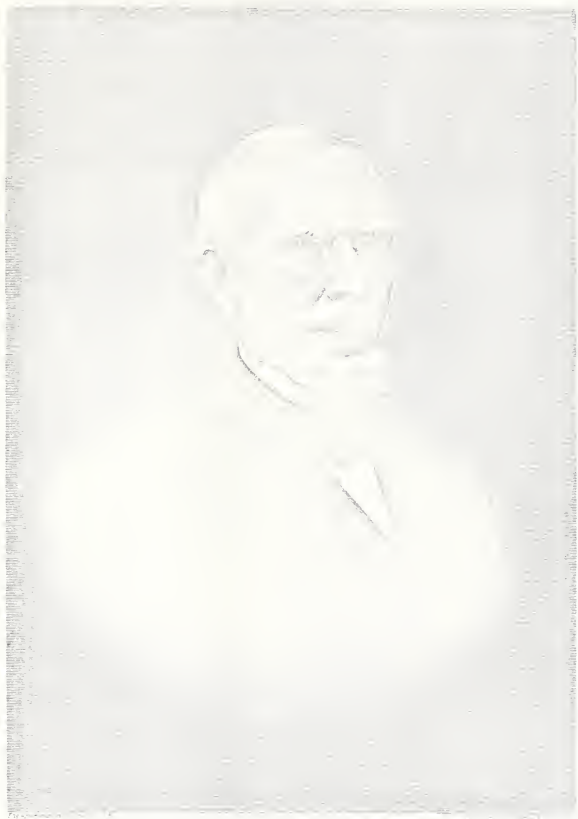
Not that he was irreverent or irreligious in the high sense of those words; but he was not to be bound by man-made dicta. Rather, he felt that his Creator had endowed him with the ability to read his own heart and mind; to interpret to himself all meanings; to judge himself at the bar of his own conscience—as he would express it, to be "his own doctor of divinity."

Such was his course of life until he was nearing his eightieth year, when he relinquished the newspaper to a son, and then devoted himself to his home in the outskirts of the city, and to companionship with a charming circle of friends with tastes similar to his own, and among whom, for his great wealth of knowledge, felicity of expression and geniality of heart, he was held to be "the noblest Roman of

them all." Occasionally, too, did he contribute to "The Journal" of his creation, some historical reminiscence or philosophical disquisition in his old-time inimitable style. Such was this spacious life until its end, on January 2, 1916, in its ninety-third year, and leaving behind it fragrant memories.

Advertisement.





John Brown



Maria (Hedder) Brown



Brown-Stoddart Families

BY JOHN P. DOWNS, HADDONFIELD, NEW JERSEY

Arms—Sable three lions passant between two bendlets argent and as many trefoils slipped ermine.

Crest—A buck's head sable attired or, issuing from a crown, paly, gold.

Motto—*Si sit prudentia.*



THE following is the record of two men, father and son, whose lives paralleled each other in many important respects, John Brown and Robert Shoemaker Brown. Both were residents of Easton, Pennsylvania, both contributed largely to the slate industry of Northampton, both reared business structures honorable and impressive, and both are known as men who did well the task that came to their hands.

John Brown was born in Newburgh, New York, June 9, 1808, died at Easton, Pennsylvania, November 4, 1889, and is buried in Easton Cemetery. His early life was spent upon the home farm, and he attended public school until he was fourteen years of age. He then obtained permission to leave home to work upon the Delaware & Hudson Canal, which was then in the course of construction. When the canal was completed he did not return to the farm, but entered the employ of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company.

Here he developed business qualities that caught the attention of his superiors and caused a steady rise in position that led into an important and responsible place in the company. For forty years he continued with the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, ranking with its most capable leaders, and during this period resided in White Haven, Pennsylvania. When he resigned from the company he moved to Easton, where he owned a handsome residence and occupied it until the close of his life.

Mr. Brown's experience was that of many men who attempt to discontinue business habits that have been years in the forming, and time hung heavily on his hands. Becoming interested in the slate quarries of Bangor, he invested in the stock of various companies operating in this district, and became the owner of more stock and

BROWN-STODDART FAMILIES

actual quarry holdings than perhaps any other resident of Easton. Throughout his life he remained in close personal touch with these interests, although their active management was largely the care of his son, Robert S. Brown. These business interests led him into other channels of industry, and he became financially connected with numerous manufacturing corporations of the locality. He was an important factor in the Lehigh Valley, the Lehigh & Susquehanna and the Bangor & Portland railroads. His business judgment was regarded with the highest respect by his associates, and during a long and active career his reputation was untouched by anything discreditable.

Mr. Brown married Maria Stoddart, born at Stoddartsville, Pennsylvania, July 23, 1819, died in Easton, Pennsylvania, March 11, 1883, daughter of Leonard and Sarah (Ellis) Stoddart (q. v.). Mr. and Mrs. Brown were members of Brainerd Union Presbyterian Church, and its liberal supporters. They were the parents of four children:

1. Sarah Stoddart, born September 20, 1840, died in Yosemite Valley in June, 1911, wife of E. L. Diefenderfer; they were the parents of: (i) Estelle, who married A. R. Warner, of Chicago, Illinois, where they now live; their children: Robert D., married Marjorie Follonsby, and has one child, Janet; Helen and Ruth. (ii) Harold, graduate of Lafayette College, and a graduate M. D. of the University of Pennsylvania, now practicing in Chicago, Illinois; he married Nellie Doty, of Chicago, and they have three children: George, Mary and Sallie.

2. Elizabeth, the only survivor of the family, a resident of Easton, her home at No. 123 North Third street. She is a lady of quiet life and gentle manner, a devoted member of Brainerd Union Presbyterian Church; during the war she was deeply interested in the work of the Red Cross and the Navy League, to both of which she belonged.

3. Maria Louisa, died unmarried, April 11, 1914.

4. Robert Shoemaker, of further mention.

The family home was on Wolf street, and there both John Brown and his wife passed away. The old home is now the site of the Easton Hospital.

Robert Shoemaker Brown, only son of John and Maria (Stoddart) Brown, was born in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, August 27, 1857. He attended school at New Haven, Connecticut, and his education included a course in business college and military school training.



Robert L. Brown



Frank R Brown

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His father became his business tutor early in life, and while still a young man he was entrusted with the slate quarrying interests of the elder Brown. After the death of Mr. John Brown, Robert Shoemaker Brown succeeded him in full charge of his important interests, and became one of the leading slate operators of the country. Mr. Brown was president and owner of the American Slate Company, and through his holdings in that company owned or controlled the Bangor Excelsior Slate Company, of which he was president, and the Bangor Union Slate Company, of which he was president, and the Pennsylvania Structural Slate Company. He was also president and general manager of the Genuine Bangor Slate Company, and was lessee of the Albion Quarry at Pen Argyl, the North Bangor Quarry, and the Keenan Structural Slate Quarry. His slate property operations, affecting the lives and fortunes of large numbers throughout the slate regions, were managed with judgment and skill, and were without exception thriving, prosperous organizations. He gave his services as director to the Easton National Bank, the Northampton Trust Company, and the Northampton National Bank. He maintained a suite of offices in the Drake building in Easton, and there employed a large force in the various departments of his business. He was a generous supporter of all worthy causes that were brought to his attention, but his gifts were made quietly and without public notice. His club was the Pomfret, and he was a member of Easton Lodge, No. 121, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks.

Robert Shoemaker Brown was survived by his second wife, Ida M. Keiper Brown, who died in Easton, early in 1919. They were the parents of four children: 1. Robert Shomaker (2), engaged in business in New York City. 2. Frank Raynor, of whom further. 3. Elizabeth M., married Donald Seeart Egbert, and now resides in Chicago, Illinois. 4. L. Renton, a resident of Easton, Pennsylvania.

Frank Raynor Brown was born December 31, 1891, in Easton, Pennsylvania, and died in the city of his birth, May 16, 1916, son of Robert Shoemaker and Ida M. (Keiper) Brown. Frank R. Brown was educated at Nazareth Hall, Nazareth, Pennsylvania, and at Mercersburg College, completing his course at the last named institution with the graduating class of 1912, and later attended Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, New York. After graduation,

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Mr. Brown engaged in the slate business, a line of activity in which both his father, Robert Shoemaker Brown, and his grandfather, John Brown, had been conspicuous. He at once assumed responsible position, but his business career was cut short, and ere he had fully demonstrated the abilities he possessed, death claimed him. He was a member of St. Mark's Reformed Church, a Republican in politics, a member of the Spartan Club of Easton, and of Easton Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. He was very popular in these orders, and everybody was his friend. Just at the threshold of life, with brilliant business and social prospects, Frank Raynor Brown closed his earthly career.

Frank R. Brown married in Allentown, Pennsylvania, June 11, 1914, Edith M. Lynch, of Phillipsburg, New Jersey, born at Royersford, Pennsylvania, August 31, 1891. She was educated in St. Michael's Parochial School, at Reading, Pennsylvania, and at Villanova Academy near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. They were the parents of one son, John Renton, born in Easton, December 6, 1915.

(Stoddart—Stoddard Line).

Arms—Sable, three estoiles within a bordure argent.

Crest—A demi-horse ermine environed round the body with a ducal coronet or.

Motto—*Festina lente* (Use dispatch, but cautiously).

The name variously spelled Stoddart, Stoddard, Stodart, Stodard, is derived from the office of standard bearer, and was anciently written De La Standard. William Stoddard, a knight, came from Normandy to England with William the Conqueror, in 1066, the leader of the Norman forces, his cousin. Among those of later day bearing his name appears Rukard Stoddard, of Nottingham, Kent, near Elthan, about seven miles from London Bridge, where the family estate of about four hundred acres was located. This came into the possession of the family in 1490 and continued in the line until 1765. In the colonial records of Wethersfield, Connecticut, the name is frequently found as Stodder, Stoder, Stodker, and Stoddard. John, born about 1620, was an early settler in Wethersfield, and was a juror in 1643, and Anthony, who came from England to Boston about 1639, was the founder of another line of the family.

These were undoubtedly English and American colonial members of the family of Leonard Stoddart and John Stoddart, the lat-



Stoddart

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ter a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia early in the nineteenth century. John Stoddart laid out the town of Stoddartsville at the Lehigh Falls in 1815 and it bears his name today. He built a large stone grist and saw mill, great operations at that time, costing more than twenty thousand dollars, and he was also proprietor of the first store and tavern and the first blacksmith, wagon, and copper shop. A busy little mountain village opened up, and had the original plans of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, which was so potent a factor in the development of Northeastern Pennsylvania in the early part of the century, been carried out, the project would have been a large success. But a radical change in navigation plans took place and the Stoddartsville village became a failure which almost ruined its enterprising founder. Stoddartsville was to have been the head of navigation, but in some manner White Haven, Luzerne county, became the head of navigation. This action, which could be neither foreseen nor averted, left Stoddartsville a village in the pine forests, a dozen miles from that commercial highway which was to float the flour of Luzerne county to Philadelphia. Mr. Stoddart bravely undertook to fight against fate by hauling his flour to Easton by wagon, but gave up the struggle against such odds after two or three years. While this enterprise was ending disastrously, his Philadelphia mercantile establishment was completely destroyed by the financial stringency growing out of the embargo acts and other evil effects of the War of 1812. His fortune was swept away and he was never able to regain it, being compelled to end his days as a clerk in a commercial house. He had a son, Isaac Stoddart, who married Lydia Butler, a granddaughter of Colonel Zebulon Butler, who led the Wyoming soldiery in the fighting at the time of the Wyoming Massacre.

Leonard Stoddart was a coppersmith. He married Sarah Ellis, and both of them died in Stoddartsville. They were the parents of Henry, John, Lydia, Mary; Sarah, died young; Anne, married Thomas Tattershall; and Maria, who married John Brown (q. v.).

Advertisement.

History of the Blaine Mansion

BY NORMAN L. BASSETT, AUGUSTA, MAINE



THE history of the Blaine house and lot in Augusta, Maine, both before and after it came into the Blaine family, is very interesting. The lot is a part of Number 5 of the so called "front lots" on the plan made June 17, 1761, by Nathan Winslow, surveyor, for the Proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase. These lots were fifty rods wide, and ran back from the river one mile. Between Lot Number 5 and the lot next south (Number 4) was a so-called "Rangeway" which is now Capitol street, William Vassal, from whom the town of Vassalboro was named, was one of the Proprietors. Certain lots, called "Proprietors' Lots," were allotted by vote, and William Vassal became the owner of this Lot Number 5.

On March 2, 1770, when Kennebec county was a part of Lincoln county and the registry was at Wiscasset, William Vassal conveyed the lot for the consideration of "love and affection" to his niece, Mary Prescott, spinster, of Chester, Nova Scotia. On December 22, 1770, she conveyed it for "100 pounds sterling" to Abraham Page, of Hallowell, Maine, who on July 3, 1780, for "600 Spanish mill dollars" conveyed to Mathew Haywood, of Easton, Massachusetts. On April 22, 1800, Mathew Haywood conveyed to James Child, of Augusta, that part of the south half of the lot between the river and the "county road." This was the road that ran from Augusta to Hallowell, and is now Grove street. The deed recalls the days when fish ran plentifully in the Kennebec river, for there was a reservation of "one half of the privilege of fishing at the bank of said river."

August 24, 1830, James Child conveyed to Captain James Hall, of Bath, a lot nine rods north and south and twelve rods east and west "on the west side of the new road leading from Augusta across Capitol Hill, so-called, to Hallowell." This road is now State street, and became the established road, replacing Grove street, the lower part of which was discontinued.

NOTE—This narrative is from "Sprague's Journal of Maine History."

HISTORY OF THE BLAINE MANSION

The corner stone of the State House was laid July 4, 1829, and the building was completed in 1832. Captain Hall added one rod to the western side of his lot by another conveyance from Mr. Child, dated September 13, 1833. Captain Hall built the house, which in the deed given after his death by his sons to their mother on February 14, 1843, is described as "his Mansion House." This consisted of the front part of the present house and an ell. James Child conveyed to his son, James L. Child, the lot next north, which later became the homestead of the late Joseph A. Homan, and has been purchased by the State.

The late Caroline G. Manley, mother of the late Joseph H. Manley; used to say that the Blaine house was built in 1833. She lived for many years in the Homan house. There is in the State Library a picture of the Capitol and its surroundings, painted in 1836 by Charles Codman. Just north of the Capitol are two houses, obviously the Hall house and the Child house. The shape of both houses, the roofs and windows, are the same, and close inspection shows the porch on the front of the Hall Mansion. It had been supposed that the original porch was an open one and that the walls and windows enclosing it had been later put on, but when these walls were removed in the summer of 1920, it was found that they had been there from the first. Why is a question, for they have been concealing all these years beauties of old colonial architecture. The front as it now appears is an old colonial design of the finest type.

November 16, 1833, Captain Hall and James L. Child by agreement located the boundary line between them. As has been said, after Captain Hall's death his sons conveyed to their mother, Frances Ann Hall, by deed dated February 14, 1843, and on February 22, 1850, she conveyed to Greenwood C. Child, another son of James. November 20, 1862, the heirs of Greenwood C. Child conveyed to Harriet Stanwood Blaine.

Mr. Blaine made important additions to and changes in the house. He built on the west end of the ell practically a duplicate of the front part. The front part was always called in the family the "old part" and the addition the "new part." On the south side of the new part was an entrance with a small square porch. This entrance led on the right into "father's library" as it was called, and on the left into the billiard room, a large octagonal room.

President Grant, with his daughter Nellie and his sons Ulysses

HISTORY OF THE BLAINE MANSION

and Jesse, came to Augusta on Tuesday, August 12, 1873, and remained until Friday, the 15th, when he went with Mr. Blaine to Bar Harbor. He was the guest of Mr. Blaine, then speaker of the National House of Representatives. The daughter of Mrs. Manley recalls that she was taken into the Blaine house to meet President Grant, and was presented to him in the billiard room. This proves that the new part was built prior to President Grant's visit. But the time of the changes is more closely fixed by a letter of Mrs. Blaine's, dated May 29, 1872, to her son Walker, who was then in Europe, in which she wrote "You will find the old house all renovated." She referred to the many things which had been done.

In the south side of the old part and to the left of the hall were two connecting rooms called the front parlor and back parlor. In the north side and to the right of the hall were two rooms, the front called the sitting room, and back of that the dining room. At this time a rectangular addition with long windows was built upon the south wall of the old part for a conservatory, the entrance into which was from the front parlor. At this time also, or only a little later, the partition between the sitting room and the dining room was taken down and the two rooms thrown into one long dining room. Two pillars which stood out a little from the north and south walls took the place of the partition. These pillars have in the recent changes been removed. In that part of the dining room which had been the sitting room was the original wainscoting, put in when the house was built. This was not reproduced in the rest of the room when the two rooms were thrown together, but a different style was used. The old wainscoting has now been reproduced in the rest of the room.

Mr. Blaine was so much pleased with the effect of the one long room that the following year the two parlors were changed in the same way. The partitions between the two and the conservatory were taken down and replaced with the pillars now there, and the three rooms made into one large living room. That part which had been the conservatory was afterwards always called in the family the Alcove. In the south side of and center of the old ell was an entrance, with double doors and small oblong porch which led into the low ceilinged hall or corridor between the hall in the old part and the library and billiard room in the new.

On the last evening, Thursday, of President Grant's visit, a re-

ception and ball was given in his honor by Mr. Blaine. "An elaborately constructed dancing pavilion gracefully trimmed with flags and streamers" was built for the occasion. The pavilion was a platform covered by a marques tent erected between the old and new parts in front of this porch, and the guests went from the house into the pavilion through this entrance.

In later years the space between the old and new parts on each side and in front of the porch was filled in to make an open veranda with balustrade in front, and the steps leading up into the porch were placed in front of this veranda. At the east end of the veranda was a window into the living room; the wall and wainscoting under this window were hinged so that it could be used as a door out to the veranda. This window is now a door from the living room into the new lounge. The long hall or corridor upstairs connecting the old and new parts and over the corridor below, just described, was known in the family as the gallery. The kitchen and other service rooms were in the north side of the ell and new part. The service entrance from the street was through a vestibule built on the north side of the house where the ell joined the old part; doors also opened into these rooms from the hall on the southern side of the ell which has just been described. In the recent changes all that part of the house between the old and new parts was torn down and has been replaced with new structure and a changed plan.

When the Codman picture was painted, there was no cupola on the original house. A lady now living in Augusta, whose memory goes back many a year, states that there was a cupola on it when Mr. Greenwood Child lived there, and that flowers used to be placed by the windows in the cupola. It was observed that the ornamentation on this cupola and also on the one on the new part, on the porch over the south entrance and on the alcove, was of the same design. This ornamentation has now been replaced with the simple details of the front porch. If there was a cupola on the old house, the ornamentation of it was copied for the additions, or else its ornamentation, originally different, was made like that of the new.

There were in the old part four chambers,—the southeast, called after the chamber set in it the "Ash Room;" the southwest, called from its color plan the "Blue Room;" the northeast, "Aunt Susan's Room," for Mrs. Blaine's sister, Susan Stanwood, who lived with them for a number of years; the chamber next west called "Alice's

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Room," after the daughter Alice, who became the wife of Colonel Coppinger. The next room on the west was the chamber made up of part of the old house and of part of the connection, between the old and the new part, and called from its peculiar style of roof and walls "The Irregular Room." In the changes recently made this room has been done away with. The room of Mr. and Mrs. Blaine was in the new part over the library. President Grant occupied this room during his visit.

That part of the hall upstairs between the front wall of the house and the doors into the front chambers was separated from the rest of the hall by an arch. This space was known in the family as the archway. When Governor Hill occupied the house this space was made into a bathroom. This has now been removed and the hall left as it was originally, except that the arch was not put back and the doors into the front chambers have been moved further toward the front wall. The effect of the window at the end of the hall is very fine.

Mr. Blaine's son, James G. Jr., his daughter, Mrs. Margaret Blaine Damrosch, and granddaughter, Margaret Blaine Damrosch (II), were born in the "Ash Room;" his granddaughter, Anita Blaine Damrosch, in Mrs. Blaine's room; his daughter, Harriet Beale, and her son, Walker, in whose memory Mrs. Beale gave the house to the State, were born in the "Blue Room."

John F. Hill occupied the house from May, 1897, until he moved into his new residence in December, 1902, near the close of the second year of his first term as governor. The house has therefore already been the gubernatorial residence.

When President Roosevelt came to Augusta, Tuesday evening, August 26, 1902, he was entertained by Governor Hill. The two rooms over the library and billiard room were then a suite, and President Roosevelt occupied these, his chamber being the one over the billiard room. A stand was erected on the terrace at the northeast corner of the house, to the right of the front entrance, from which he spoke soon after his arrival.

Mrs. Blaine took up her residence again in the house in the spring of 1903, and died there July 15, 1903, a little more than ten years after Mr. Blaine's death in Washington, January 27, 1893. Her death was the only one in the house during the ownership by the family, a period of a little more than fifty-six years.

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Mrs. Blaine devised the home, one-fourth each to her son James G. and her daughters Mrs. Margaret Damrosch and Mrs. Harriet Beale, and one-eighth each to her grandsons, James G. Blaine Coppinger and Connor Walker Blaine Coppinger, sons of her daughter Alice. January 26, 1909, James conveyed his one-fourth to his sisters, Mrs. Damrosch and Mrs. Beale. As a twenty-first birthday present to his son, Walker Blaine Beale, Hon. Truxtum Beale purchased the interests of Mrs. Damrosch and Blaine and Connor Coppinger, who conveyed to Walker on his birthday, March 22, 1917.

April 6, 1917, the United States declared war upon Germany, and the next day Walker Beale, then a junior at Harvard, telephoning from his college dormitory, placed the home at the disposal of the Committee of Public Safety of Maine, which had just been organized. The committee occupied it until December, 1918.

Upon the death of Walker Blaine Beale, his five-eighths interest descended in equal shares to his father and mother. Mr. Beale conveyed his interest to Mrs. Beale, who then became the sole owner. She gave it to the State in memory of her son, on March 10, 1919.



The Mayflower Compact and Samuel Fuller the Pilgrims' Doctor

BY CHARLES H. BANGS, M. D., BOSTON



THE meeting of the Old Planters' Society, of Salem, Massachusetts, held in celebration of the Tercentenary anniversary of the settlement of New England in America, the principal address was by Dr. Charles H. Bangs, of Boston, president of the University of Massachusetts, and vice-president of the Massachusetts Society, Sons of the American Revolution. The following synopsis of his remarks on "The Mayflower Compact and its Significance," is reprinted from the "Salem News:"

In ye name of God Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne lord King James, by ye grace of God, of great Britaine, France & Ireland, king, defender of ye faith, &c.

Haveing undertaken, for ye glorie of God, and advancement of ye christian faith and honor of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia. Doe by these present solemnly & mutually in ye presence of God, and one of another; covenant, & combine our selves together into a civill body politick; for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute and frame shuch just & equal lawes, ordinances, Acts constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie: unto which we promise all due submission and obedience, In witness wherof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd ye .11. of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our soveraigne Lord king James of England, France, & Ireland ye eighteenth and of Scotland ye fiftie fourth. An^o Dom. 1620.

The Mayflower Compact was the great legacy that the Pilgrim Fathers bequeathed to the world. Three hundred years ago, in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, there was set in motion an influence that is rocking the world today.

The little band of Mayflower Pilgrims, whom we must regard as the most far-reaching in their influence of any group of the early settlers of this country, there composed the most momentous docu-

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ment in the annals of history. A document so broad in its significance and so far-reaching in its influence that we are now, only after the lapse of three centuries, coming to realize its complete revolutionary effect on the governments of the world.

With the coming of the Pilgrim Tercentenary it is well that we read carefully the Mayflower Compact, not only in its lines, but between its lines, and familiarize ourselves with the conditions that led to its evolution.

Driven by intolerance from their homes in England, a little band of people possessing certain independence of thought, and desiring above all else the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience "resolved to goe into ye Low-Countries, wher they heard was freedom of religion for all men." After sojourning for some years in Holland and breathing the air of a greater freedom "they began to incline to this conclusion, of removal to some other place." This change was contemplated "not out of new-fangledness, or other such like giddy humor," but from a "great hope and inward zeal that they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for ye propagating and advancing ye gospil of ye kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of ye world."

In the discussion that followed, "some were earnest for Guiana, or some of those fertile places in those hot climats, others were for some parts of Virginia where ye English had already made entrance." Finally they undertook "for ye glorie of God, and advancement of ye Christian faith and honor of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colony in ye northerne parts of Virginia." The determination to settle in Virginia was reached only after they had arrived at a tacit understanding with the king that they were to have freedom; "for thus far they prevailed in sounding his majesties mind, that he should connive at them, & not molest them, provided they carried themselves peaceably."

Thus they set out, not as adventurers or as seceders, but as crusaders seeking to secure liberty and to advance the Christian faith in that mysterious land that lay far to the westward beyond the sea. We may then consider that the desire for freedom and liberty, in a broad sense, was a prime motive in the migration of the Pilgrims of America.

Buffeted by wind and wave, weakened by sickness, ravaged by scurvy and probably by typhus fever, torn by dissensions verging on mutiny, worn out by sea-sickness and a voyage that had lasted four and one-half months from the time of the first embarkation, this little band of Pilgrims despaired of ever reaching their chosen destination in Virginia, and finally welcomed the opportunity to seek shelter behind the beckoning finger of Cape Cod.

They had reached a shore on which they had no charter for pos-

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session, and in fact a land where neither the law nor the gospel held sway. Trespassers, cast by inclement weather and an intolerant sea upon an ungoverned shore, unbound by law and unrestrained by force, they were in a condition of unrecognized socialism, with an opportunity such as the socialist of today, however extreme his type, might envy.

Cut off from home government, they were in a position where self-government of some kind became imperative. On shipboard they were under the command of the captain of the ship. On land they realized that the maintenance of law and order must be of the first importance. They must be their own law-makers. No veto power could be exercised over them, and the future bore for them only the outworking of the ideals within them. Sheltered by the protecting land from the fury of the sea, the inherent traits of these people commenced to assert themselves.

Before even setting foot on that land which is now Provincetown, they assembled in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and there composed the earliest written constitution in history, and into it they wrote those fundamentals of constitutional democracy that are now knocking at the door of every nation. Realizing their isolation, they, by their very action, put in effect the principles of self-government for the maintenance of law and order. Actuated by the dictates of a mastering conscience, they pledged themselves in that constitution to enact only such laws as should be just and equal. "In the name of God, Amen," they wrote into that compact loyalty to race, veneration of God, and obedience to the law.

Then, when they had completed the work, they signed the compact there written. By that act they recognized the great fundamental of the rights of the individual. There for the first time in the world's history the master and the man assumed equal rights and equal responsibilities in government, because four of the signers of the Compact came in the *Mayflower* in the capacity of "servants."

Spirituality and Idealism always walk hand in hand. Therefore the *Mayflower* Compact, composed in an atmosphere tense with spirituality and religious fervor, must bear the impress of lofty ideals. So we find inculcated in it the principles of freedom and liberty, self-government, law and order, Godliness, loyalty, justice, equality, equal rights and obedience to law—those fundamentals that have been considered to constitute democracy, but which are now recognized as the foundation of Americanism. As such they reasserted themselves in the Declaration of Independence, they were amplified and purified in the freeing of the slaves, they have justified themselves in the building of a self-governmental empire which more than half encircles the world; they proved to be the winning ideals in the World War, and are the foundation of fourteen Republics now founded in autocratic Europe.

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And after having done the most momentous thing ever done in the history of the world, these simple Godfearing Pilgrims "being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed ye God of Heaven, who had brought them over ye vast & furious ocean, and delivered them from ye perils and miseries thereof againe set their feet on ye firm and stable earth, their proper elements."

To the everlasting glory of the Pilgrims be it said that they purchased the land and the supplies that they might have seized; they established equal rights under the laws they made for their own government; and they laid without consciousness of its greatness, the foundation of government "of the people, for the people, and by the people."

Who had the wildness of imagination to foresee that this little band of Pilgrims were to establish a self-governed empire upon which the sun should never set; or that their children of the tenth generation should be so actuated by the influence of the high ideals there established that they should lay down their lives by thousands and tens of thousands on the fields of battle-scarred Europe, to make world-wide the ideals of those humble, liberty-loving, God-fearing Pilgrims?

It was more than one hundred years before the *Mayflower* Compact was written that Martin Luther nailed his theses on the door of the cathedral at Wittenburg, but the seed of freedom of thought there scattered sprang up on American shores. It was a century and a half later before its fruit nourished the intellectual needs of Washington. Nearly another century later it gave sustenance to the independence of thought characteristic of Lincoln. Now, as the seed of Americanism, it is germinating in those far distant parts of the world where it has re-seeded with freedom and liberty the fields made barren by autocracy and license.

During the Tercenentary Celebration, Dr. Baugs, the speaker above quoted, spoke on "Samuel Fuller, the Pilgrims' Doctor." The following report of his remarks is reprinted by permission from the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal" of December 16, 1920:

"And in the end (after he had much helped others) Samuel Fuller, who was their surgeon and phisition, and had been a great help and comfort unto them," died. He was "a man godly, and forward to doo good, being much missed after his death."

Such is the tribute paid by Bradford, the historian of the Pilgrims, to Samuel Fuller, who came with them in the *Mayflower* to Plymouth in 1620 and spent the remaining thirteen years of his life in Plymouth Colony. He ministered not only to the Pilgrims and the natives, but was also called upon to render medical assistance

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among the Puritans as well. His home appears to have been in the present town of Kingston; but at the call of humanity, wherever his services were needed, Samuel Fuller performed the duties of his profession from Cape Cod to Cape Ann, traversing the pathless forests and sailing the uncharted waters to take relief to the suffering. Serving the colonists constantly in his professional capacity from 1620 until his death in 1633, we believe that he fairly earned the title of First Resident Physician of New England.

His ministrations extended outside the bodily needs of the colonists, for as a deacon he ministered to the spiritual needs of the community that was so closely associated with the church. It is evident that he endeared himself to all, both by his professional ability and by his upright life. Not only did he bear his burdens in Plymouth Colony, but he was more than once called to Charlestown and Naumkeak (Salem), and to Mattapan (Dorchester), to combat epidemics in those places.

The letter of Governor Endicott to Governor Bradford testifies to the high esteem in which he was held in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Little is known of the early life of Samuel Fuller except what we gather from the records of the parishes of Redenhall and Wortwell in County Norfolk, England. By these records it appears that he was one of the eighteen children of Robert Fuller, butcher, to be baptized between February 18, 1564, and October 31, 1591. The date of Samuel's baptism is recorded as January 20, 1580, which shows that he was a man of middle age when he came over in the *Mayflower*. His wife and one child joined him by a later ship, and two children were born to them in Plymouth Colony.

It may be inferred that he was one of the more prosperous of the Pilgrims, since he brought with him a servant, who died as they neared the land. Previous to the embarkation of the Pilgrims he was a deacon in Rev. John Robinson's church in Leyden. That he took an active part in the Pilgrim migration is shown by a letter written June 20, 1620, to John Carver and Richard Cushman. This letter, which was signed by Samuel Fuller, William Bradford, Isaac Allerton and Ed. Winslow (in the order named), was a vigorous protest against certain proposed measures whereby "yt the marchants should have half of mens houses and lands at ye dividint," etc. In this transaction Samuel Fuller was associated with those who were the ablest among the *Mayflower* Pilgrims, and indicates that he was a man of importance in the business affairs of the organization. This is further borne out by the fact that he was the eighth signer of the *Mayflower* Compact, that most important American document. As a deacon in the church at Plymouth he took an active part in its affairs, and benefits are even now accruing to the church as the result of his farsightedness and devotion. His spiritual counsel seems to have been sought equally with his professional advice.

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The following is taken from "Plymouth and the Pilgrims," by Arthur Lord: "John Pory, on his return in 1622 from Virginia to England, stopped for a brief visit in Plymouth. He writes the Governor that 'for the space of one whole year of the two wherein they had been there, died not one man, woman or child.' Captain John Smith, writing in 1624, says: 'The place (Plymouth) it seems is healthful for the last three years * * * there having not one died of the first planters.' "

In 1628 and again in 1629 he went to Charlestown and Salem at the request of Governor Endicott to combat epidemics of scurvy and infectious fever which had been brought in by the newly arriving ships. Governor Endicott sent for him because there was no physician in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and because he had heard that "here was one that had some skill in yt way, & had cured divers of the scnrvie, and of other diseases, by letting blood, and other means." May 11, 1629, Governor Endicott wrote to Governor Bradford: "I acknowledge myself much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller among us."

With the ability of the physician, Dr. Fuller evidently combined the skill of the diplomat, for his visit to Salem and his meeting with Governor Endicott brought a much more cordial relation between the two colonies. It also resulted in a reconciliation of much of the disagreement between them as to forms of worship, led to an acquaintance between the two governors, and eventually helped to establish the union of the Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay colonies under a single government.

To Mattapan (Dorchester) Samuel Fuller was called in the summer of 1630 to combat an epidemic in which he treated some twenty of the people. What may have been the nature of the epidemic we do not know. What were the merits of the treatment in the light of modern medicine, we have no right to discuss. While there is nothing to indicate the source or the profundity of his medical education, there is evidence that he practised in accordance with the standard of his times. As well may we assault the teachings of Hippocrates and Galen as to compare the work of this pioneer in medical practice in New England with the medical science of America to-day.

Suffice it to say, he served well the people of his day, according to the standards of his profession. He won the confidence and esteem of his associates both by his professional skill and his exemplary life. He won the love of the community which he served by his devotion to its wellbeing. "A man godly, and forward to doo good, being much missed after his death"—what better epitaph need be written?

The recent years have produced only one medical service bearing any comparison to that of Samuel Fuller,—that has been the devoted

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sacrifice of Dr. Wilfred Grenfell in ministering to the people of Labrador. For his devotion to duty Dr. Grenfell has been honored with knighthood. How may we honor Dr. Samuel Fuller, the Pioneer Resident Physician of New England? In this tercentenary year should we not do something worth while to perpetuate the name of the Pilgrims' Doctor? No deeds of arms or thrilling romance have given him a place in poesy. No royal commission nor high office has made conspicuous his name in colonial history. Yet he who simply served should have his well deserved place in the Pilgrims' Hall of Fame at this time when the thought of the world is turned toward the struggles and the achievements of the Pilgrims. Shall it not be the privilege and the pleasure of the medical profession of this entire country, regardless of the cleavage of lines of practice, to unite in establishing a suitable memorial to Dr. Samuel Fuller, the first doctor to acquire permanent settlement on these shores?



Editorial

LITERARY NOTES

In *Sprague's Journal of Maine History*, a quarterly magazine now in its ninth year, published at Dover, Maine, the editor, Mr. John Francis Sprague, is not only producing a work gratifying to the present-day reader, but one which will have ever increasing value as the years pass by. In the last two numbers are papers of notable interest: "Indian Treaties in Maine," a subject having a bearing upon the hunting rights of Indians in that State as adjudicated in its Supreme Court some few years ago; a "History of the Blaine Mansion" in Augusta, with mention of visits there by Presidents Grant and Roosevelt; an address on "The State of Maine," by Hon. Clarence Hale, a Justice of the United States District Court, before the Maine Society of New York; besides a long list of graves of Revolutionary soldiers in the Kennebec region; and much other important matter.

The McCarthys in Early American History, by Michael J. O'Brien, (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York), is a well printed and well written narrative identifying members of the family in America with the earliest colonial times in Virginia and in the East, and also with the Revolutionary period, and following their descendants with their matrimonial alliances into the succeeding historic epochs. As a matter of course, several pages are given to their ancestral history in the land of their origin, but the main purpose is to show their relation to the beginnings of America. That the author seeks not to unduly exalt the subjects of his researches is indicated by his remarks in his Introduction, and to the spirit of which he rigidly adheres in his narrative:

While there are clear indications that some of the American-Irish McCarthys of those early days were of the better classes and were men of education and refinement who, 'preferring an altar in the desert to a coronet at court,' voluntarily expatriated themselves

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to the Colonies, I have no doubt that the majority of those whose names appear in the early records crossed the seas as poor 'Redemptioners,' and had to work their way against obstacles of the most difficult character. But their record in America has been an honorable one, and in several instances they or their immediate descendants are seen to have risen to places of trust and responsibility in the business, political and social life of their day.

The Evolution of Revolution, by H. M. Hyndman; (New York: Boni & Liveright), is a volume, to begin with, deeply interesting for its literary construction and the vividness with which the author presents his historical narrative, and which through several chapters forms the foundation for his argument. This portion of the work depicts the farthest removed primitive social conditions so far as they can be reasonably identified, beginning with the absolutely free individual man and tracing his loss of identity in the gens—the socialism or communism of that time. From such beginning the author follows the development of what we regard as civilization, but what he evidently regards as retrogression, through its beginnings of private property to present-day industrialism and commercialism. In short, he sees little in the history of civilization and its development but the dark side which is ever side by side with every human effort and achievement. In the impending revolution which he forecasts (and not necessarily a revolution based upon or conducted by armsbearing and warring forces), he discerns a rebirth of humanity which (not his words or argument) will befit no abiding place except that "Paradise Regained" where none but angels dwell. In the communism or socialism, or whatever term may be applied to the conditions which are to follow when all that belong to present systems of industrialism and commercialism are overthrown and annihilated, he sees a transformation so wonderful as to be beyond the telling save in his own Utopian phrasing:

For such delight in life as we can now foresee to be possibly attainable for all (when his revolution shall have been accomplished—Ed.) has never yet been experienced, even by the fortunate few. When from infancy and youth to full development and age, the beauties of nature and the pleasure of perfect health can be entered upon and enjoyed, with none of the sordid and degrading drawbacks due to the dire poverty or extreme riches of our day; when work is but the useful and pleasing expression of zeal for the community and regard for the individual, toil and exhaustion being

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wholly unknown; when, throughout the longer, fuller and more active life which mankind will then be heir to, the minds of all will be more completely cultivated than those of the most gifted have ever been; when art naturally rises to higher and ever higher pitch of exquisite achievement due to a keener public conception of beauty and sculpture, painting, architecture, decoration, than the best of the Greeks themselves could realize, when all this is achieved, as achieved it assuredly will be within a calculable period, death itself will be nothing more than a sigh of satisfied content at the close of a charming and well ordered banquet of life.

And then, may we not assume, some reincarnated Hyndman will proceed to the evolution of another revolution which will result in social chaos, and necessitate another ages-long human pilgrimage from the cave where dwelt the prehistoric man? We see nothing in the communist or socialist of today to justify the commitment to him of leadership in such a momentous enterprise.



STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICANA, published Quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for April 1st, 1921.

City and State of New York, } ss.
County of New York, }

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Marion L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Manager of the American Historical Society, Inc., publisher of Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The American Historical Society, Inc., Somerville, N. J., and 317 Broadway, New York City: Editor, Fenwick Y. Hedley, No. 317 Broadway, New York City; Managing Editor, Marion L. Lewis, No. 317 Broadway, New York City; Business Manager, Marion L. Lewis, No. 317 Broadway, New York City.

2. That the owners are: Benjamin F. Lewis, Sr., No. 908 Central avenue, Wilmette, Ill.; Marion L. Lewis, No. 317 Broadway, N. Y.; Metcalf B. Hatch, Nutley, N. J.; Ed Lewis, No. 2121 Foster avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Florence A. Kelsey, Great Barrington, Massachusetts; Benjamin F. Lewis, Jr., No. 542 South Dearborn street, Chicago, Illinois.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

MARION L. LEWIS, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of April, 1921.

LEAH PANISH,

(Seal).

Notary Public of New York City.
Commission expires March 30, 1923.

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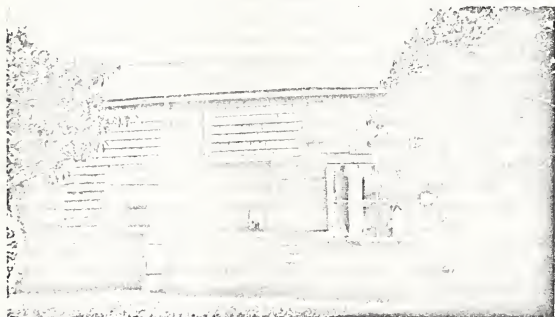


John G. Jordan.



OLD SILVER LEAFS

Named Mathew, Mark, Luke and John; also called "Harps of the Wind"



AN ARTIST'S STUDIO, NANTUCKET

AMERICANA

OCTOBER, 1921

Nantucket—Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow

BY AMELIA DAY CAMPBELL, NEW YORK CITY

Author of "Myles Standish, Military Commander and Brave Defender of the Plymouth Colony," "Alaska, the Land of Possibilities," etc.



ANCHORED FAR out from the mainland of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to which it belongs, with the waters of the Atlantic Ocean rolling up and breaking on the high cliffs of its southern and eastern shores, and Nantucket Sound separating it from other lands on the north, lies the romantic and historically famous little island of Nantucket. Its creation was vouched for by the Indians who were the first inhabitants, in their quaint legend so interestingly told by Eva C. G. Folger in "The Glacier's Gift," that "Once upon a time there lived on the Atlantic coast a giant who used Cape Cod as his bed. One night, being restless, he tossed from side to side till his moccasins were filled with sand. This so enraged him that on arising in the morning he flung the offending moccasins from his feet, one alighting to form Martha's Vineyard, while the other became the since famous island of Nantucket." This story no doubt originated with the early Indians because of the moccasin-like shape of the island. Imagination pictures many forms from its peculiar shape—one of them a hammock swinging amidst the surrounding waters.

The importance of its sixty square miles of territory is unequaled by any other such infinitesimal area in the world, and the glories of its past have been born, flourished for a time, and disappeared, to make way for another industry, or occupation, or religion, to continue the epoch-making importance of this little "kingdom." Its isolation makes it select and secluded, and under the government of

NANTUCKET—YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW

our country which gives protection to its inhabitants for very small returns, it flourishes in its self-pride and independence. At the same time, this isolation has bred a conservatism which makes its people slow to accept the advancement of an enlightened and progressive century. They are too far from the actualities of current happenings which revolutionize the status of everyday life and events, to realize the importance to themselves. They have, however, been very alert to their own local industrial possibilities, and the history of each important event is divided into an epoch of two hundred years. Unlike those that have gone, the epoch of *today* should endure for many centuries.

The important activity of the Island in its epoch-making history today was undreamed of three centuries ago when it was inhabited first by the Red Men, then by the English settlers who dwelt and worked with them and who supplanted the Indians entirely within the space of two hundred years. Then Nantucket became the abode of the Whaler; or, to be more accurate, the settlers became whalers, because that sporting occupation was revealed to them out of their neighboring and neighborly waters, and they made excellent use of their opportunity for two hundred years. A new religion known as Quakerism appeared among them, and was embraced by the majority, only to become extinct within the space of two hundred years.

It is as a summer resort that Nantucket is prospering *today*, and becoming quite as famous in that respect as she has been in agriculture, in trade, and in religion; but it is a far cry from the day when Thomas Maey with his wife and five small children braved the waters of Massachusetts Bay, rounded Cape Cod into Nantucket Sound in an open boat, and reached the shores of Nantucket in 1659, to the present day when crowds of summer visitors arrive twice daily by the large and palatial steamers; and it is no uncommon occurrence for a "birdman" to come sailing through the sky in his hydroplane, alight on the water and taxi to the beach, where he and his 'plane become the center of attraction.

No longer ago than 1865, a Boston man advocated Nantucket as a health resort, and today thousands go there to enjoy its wonderful climate—not for health alone, but for the luxury of coolness, for the pleasure of exploring its quaint old English streets and lanes, to enjoy the walks across its moors, to behold the unusual sight of cranberry bogs, and to indulge in recreation on the bathing beach. When

visitors leave their comfortable hotels and boarding houses each morning and in a long procession of autos, horse-drawn surreys and pedestrians, at the fashionable hour for bathing gather at the beach, they do not know, unless they have "read up" in their guide books, that where the Nantucket Athletic Club stands, whose tennis courts are crowded both morning and afternoon with athletic youth, this entire water front was the scene of the whaling industry; that the bay now filled with pleasure craft was then full of the old-time sailing vessels; that the whale ships were arriving and departing weekly; that their outfitting and unloading required the labor of many white and Indian men; that try-works, whale wharfs, candle factories, salt works, rope walks, and many other marine and seafaring industries, were in full sway. Or, as they listen to the band from Boston or Worcester as it plays on the beach while they disport themselves in their wonder-hued bathing suits in the water, sit around on the sand in the sunshine beneath flame-striped sun umbrellas, while they are sketched in groups, singly or en masse, by celebrated artists, or watch the bathers from the shaded porch of the comfortable pavillion, that it was Captain Timothy Folger, a Nantucketer, who first charted the Gulf Stream which was "discovered" during the whaling days, and that it is this wonderful Gulf Stream which makes the waters of the Sound average about 75 degrees, and the Nantucket shore one of the warmest bathing places on the New England coast.

The devotees of the American vacation habit were not long in appreciating the advantages of Nantucket after its fame began to be known, though this habit could easily have been indulged in centuries before, for Crevecoeur says in his "Letters of an American Farmer" which were published in 1777: "Singular as it may appear to you, there are but two medical professors on the island. * * * Since the foundation of the town, no epidemical distempers have appeared, which at times cause such depopulation in other countries; many of them are extremely well acquainted with the Indian methods of curing simple diseases, and practice them with success. You will hardly find anywhere a community composed of the same number of individuals, possessing such uninterrupted health and exhibiting so many green old men who show their advanced age by the maturity of their wisdom, rather than by the wrinkles of their face."

But there are many other reasons why Nantucket is beloved by all

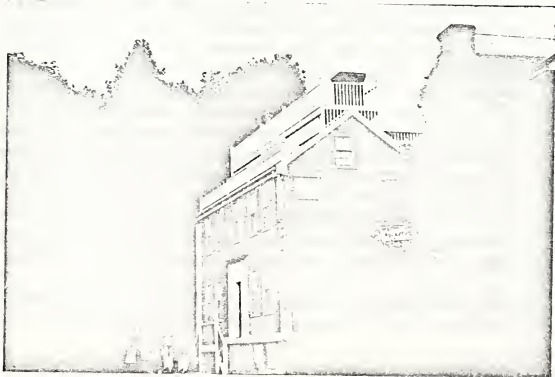
visitors, and why a new history of Nantucket is constantly being undertaken by writers, for its quaintness and difference from other places make them feel that they must tell others about it in their own way; while artists make it their mecca for the purpose of perpetuating on canvas the things one can *feel* there as well as see, for the inspiration of it all influences painter, poet, writer, and the dilettante as well.

One of the first *different* objects one glimpses is the house-top fenced enclosure called "Widows' Walk" by some, and eventually one finds out that they were not always just ornamental as they seem to be at present, but that the return of the father or the son or husband from a two, three or four years whaling expedition was eagerly watched for from these "walks," and when the ship was still too far away to discern her name, and the carrier pigeon swiftly approached with the name tied to its foot or beneath its wing, how readily the captain's good wife paid her dollar or the whaler's wife a lesser amount to the small boy who was enterprising enough to be the first to catch the pigeon and fly with the news to those interested. But many times the watchers waited in vain for their men, for among the tragedies of the sea were the loss of the *Essex*, which was sunk by a whale and all on board lost; the mutiny on board the *Globe*, when lives were sacrificed; the many ships captured during the Revolutionary War, the French and Indian War, and during the difficulties between France and England, when crews were taken prisoners and many times only a few ever returned. A "walk" was also a "weather bureau," for Douglas-Lithgow in his "History of Nantucket" quotes from a periodical over a hundred years old: "Every house in this seafaring place has a look-out upon the roof, or a vane at the gable end, to see what ships have arrived from sea, or whether the wind is fair for the packets."

There is the keenest anticipation in starting out for a walk, as to where the side-turning into street or lane will lead. It may stop at the loveliest old colonial doorway with its peculiar fan-like transom which is a frequent theme for the poet and the artist, or it may turn into another lane through the fences of which one glimpses the most wonderful gardens of hollyhock or hydrangea rows; or it may lead out to a street built up with comfortable homes, or to the old "Horseshoe House"; or one may behold the splendor of a flaming sunset through the four large buttonwood trees standing like senti-



A COLONIAL DOORWAY



HOUSE ON "WIDOWS' WALK"

nels on the hill. The uncertainty of just where one is going, for it will not be straight ahead by any means, is fascinating; and to try to retrace one's meanderings the next day is equally fascinating—and impossible.

The streets and lanes have characteristic names, and apparently nothing in nature has been slighted, whether flower, tree, season, fish or animal, for some of them are Lily street, Ash lane, Black Horse lane, Candle street, Cod lane, Moose lane, Silver lane, Whale street, Prison lane, Coffin court and Beaver lane, which were given these names in far-off 1797. The lanes are very narrow, some with cobbled paving, others just mother earth, while the more pretentious streets have up-to-date asphalt covering. However, the principal thoroughfare, Main street, has the jolting, restless cobblestones in unusually uncomfortable irregularity. Sitting here on a bench of a summer evening and listening to the band as it pours forth its jazz and march melodies from the stand temporarily erected for the summer, right in the middle of Main street, it is hard to realize that a whipping post stood at Gardner and Main streets from 1790 to 1800, and that "Polly Walmsley was publicly whipped, her outstretched arms tied to the back of a cart"; or that in 1679 "Katherine Innis was fined to be whipped fifteen stripes or to pay 5 pounds."

In its quaint individuality one concludes that Nantucket is typically English, for it has retained much of the "atmosphere" of those early English colonists, and it was no doubt with reluctance that their descendants decided to change their mode of industry which has embraced so many sorts through succeeding generations—from agriculture, sheep raising, whaling, and manufacturing, all of which have had their day and disappeared—to figuratively turn over the keys of their little island which Daniel Webster called "The Unknown City in the Ocean," to strangers; but they have done it in a thorough, businesslike, hospitable way, as was to be expected of a race of whom Crèvecoeur wrote: "Idleness is the most heinous sin that can be committed in Nantucket. An idle man would soon be pointed out as an object of compassion, for idleness is considered as another word for want and hunger. This principle is so thoroughly well understood and is become so universal, that they are never idle."

One must roam over the island and study it to appreciate that there is a reason for the existence of the *unusual*, wherever found.

For instance, there are no native trees on the island except dwarf pine and scrub oak, but there are beautiful old elm trees on Main street which were set out by Charles and Henry Coffin, and the willows were grown from slips taken from Napoleon's grave at St. Helena and brought to the island on the whale ship *Napoleon*. Originally Nantucket is believed to have been thickly wooded with oak, walnut, beech, pine and cedar, but as far back as 1780 they had disappeared, having been cut down for building and fuel. So all trees found there today have been planted by those who loved trees and believed with Joyce Kilmer, "I think that I shall never see a poem as lovely as a tree," and passed that love on to posterity which enjoys them today.

The windmill on the hill, with its view of bay and ocean, is the last of the tide and wind mills which were so important in other days in grinding the grain of the island, for in the beginning of things—that is, with the advent of the first settlers who eventually supplanted the Indians—every man wanted to be a land owner, and Tristram Folger was determined in those early days of 1670 or thereabouts to form a landed aristocracy, no one to be allowed to vote except landowners, and for many years he was the ruling power of the island, for he was shrewd, plausible, convincing, and things went about as he said. But there were others who did not own so much land as those who controlled the original twenty-seven shares as well as a portion of the sheep-commons in proportion to his other holdings, and who still thought they had rights even though they were but the fishermen and artisans of every sort; and so politics gained a foothold and two parties were formed. John Gardner had been invited to come to the island and "set us the trade of taking codfish," and on agreeing to stay three years was given one-half share of land. He became the leader of the Liberals, and eventually supplanted Tristram Coffin, who desired that "all things remain as they were," while Gardner was for "equal rights for all." He was a genius in his administration of affairs, and the most capable man among the settlers. The result was inevitable that these two strong and great men should be enemies, but another of Gardner's superior qualities was the magnanimity which he showed to Tristram and which eventually made them friends as long as they lived. To make the reconciliation complete, Tristram's grandson, Jethro Coffin, married John Gardner's daughter Mary. The house and estate



JETHRO COFFIN HOUSE
Oldest in Nantucket Island; built 1686

which the two parents provided for them on the occasion of their wedding in 1686, the land being furnished by Peter Coffin and the house by Gardner, is today the oldest house in Nantucket, and is preserved and exhibited to a host of daily visitors by a descendant of this famous couple. Built into corners of the rooms are several "ship's knees." In the bridal chamber on the second floor can be seen today the gravestone of John Gardner which marked his grave for one hundred and seventy-five years, and which has been put there for preservation.

The original white settlers were by no means to be considered as monarchs,—there were the Indians to be reckoned with,—for when Bartholomew Gosnold landed at Sankaty Head in 1602 there were about fifteen hundred Indians on the island. They owned the land by right of possession, although England claimed the island because of an expedition of the Cabots in 1497, when they sailed from Florida to Labrador, claiming all lands along their route. When the first settler, Thomas Mayhew, arrived in 1641, he was eventually obliged to treat with the agent of the Earl of Sterling, from whom he bought the island for thirty pounds and two beaver hats—one for himself and one for his wife. One assumes that the only reason the fashion of the beaver hat variety could possibly have had in that day was to crown "their majesties," in order to awe the unclothed nature-garbed Indians, as *supposed* or *imagined* crowns on the heads of royalty do with the rank and file of their subjects to this day.

When Nantucket was owned by New York, Governor Lovelace stipulated that any lands acquired by the settlers must first be bought from the Indians; that is, the Indians must be recompensed for the lands they claimed. However, the poor ignorant Indian was a peculiar factor to deal with, for while the settlers no doubt drove good bargains for themselves, yet they were just and kind to the Indians. But the Indians never did understand that the land belonged to them no longer after it was sold. They still believed, as they have in all lands which they have inhabited, that the fish in the streams, the animals in the woods and the products of the fields, were theirs for the taking. In many cases the new owners of the soil permitted the Indians who were heads of families to continue to till the lands for their living.

However, the red and white men worked together harmoniously in fishing and in planting, each learning something from the other,

both races finding absorbing occupation in trying to wrest an honest living from the barren soil and the far less barren waters bordering its shores. All went well with both until in 1683 Stephen Hussey smuggled rum into the island. From then on, the doom of the Red Man was sealed. These impulsive childlike creatures had no self-control—nothing but primeval instincts to get what they wanted, “by hook or crook.” Even though they bartered their crops, their lands, their stock, they would have rum at whatever the cost. To make matters worse, they were paid in rum for their services on the fishing boats, and it was no uncommon sight to find a great deal of drunkenness around the docks when the boats came in, and when they were drunk they committed petty crimes for which they were tried and many times given very harsh sentences. The whipping post, pillories, and even branding the flesh, were some of the methods of punishment. A negro preacher for stealing a barrel of rum and seven gallons of oil was sentenced to pay a round sum of money or serve one of the settlers *four years*. But these punishments did very little good. And thus the Red Race began to deteriorate, degenerate, and die out. Then an epidemic of smallpox broke out which did not affect the white people, but more than half of the Indians died, even though faithfully nursed by the settlers. Finally, with the death in 1855 of Dorcas Honorable, the grandfather of Tashama, “the last and greatest of the Indian sachems,” this noble race became extinct in Nantucket. The Indians had played a prominent and important part in the early history, two great Indian sachems, Wanaackmamaek and Nickernoose, proving loyal friends to the settlers. They were never really *savages*, for only one man was ever murdered by an Indian. Douglas-Lithgow pays a fine tribute to them in his “History of Nantucket” when he says:

“We talk glibly and deprecatingly of the poor Indian as ‘mere savage,’ but the annals of American history afford but few instances of really nobler men than Massasoit, Passaconoway, Samoset and Wanaackmamaek, the controlling head sachems of Nantucket. Had it not been for the high personal qualities of such men, New England might not have occupied today the proud position which she now holds among the United States. Unfortunately, civilization has too often brought in its wake habits and customs which have ever proved degenerative, if not destructive, to the uncivilized races of the earth, and so they proved to the Indians, who were sober, industrious and happy before the settlers introduced among them the

iniquitous fire-water, to the abuse of which they fell a prey. Acting under this pernicious influence, their primitive instincts were aroused within them, and never afterwards were they the same people. * * * When all that can be said against the Indian has been spoken, it must be conceded that they embodied a pure and lofty patriotism, for which they fought and died like men and true patriots, and although they had to gradually yield up their possessions and their homes in the land they loved, and to recede and disappear before the advancing wave of civilization, yet, as De Forest says 'we must drop a tear over the grave of the race which has perished, and regret that civilization and Christianity have ever accomplished so little for its amelioration.' "

Whales were probably caught by the Indians long before the white people settled in Nantucket, but it was not until several years later that the routine of farming was to be revolutionized by whaling. Agriculture was of prime importance, and the grazing fields, which were held in common, were kept fertile by their laws, for history records that "farmers were required to sow two bushels of hay seed upon every halfe aker by end of March or pay a penalty of 5 shillings each." Thus their flocks grew fat and increased until eventually there were fifteen thousand sheep grazing on the commons. As there were fourteen ponds, some salt and others fresh water, they formed boundaries to different tracts and kept the flocks and cattle within bounds. Shearing days, when the sheep were washed in the pond and sheared in the pen by the men, while the women provided refreshments and cheer for them, soon became famous annual gathering occasions not unlike a county fair. The fakirs were there with their wares, and the men and boys home from fishing and whaling expeditions, with plenty of money in their pockets, made it an occasion to spend it, though we cannot imagine their spending "liberally," for *thrift* and not expenditure is an inborn characteristic of the New Englander, which originated with those predecessors of the Nantucketers in New England by thirty years—the Pilgrim Fathers. However, the girls were pleased with even "a knot of blue ribbon to tie up their bonnie brown hair," and best of all, it was a day of reunions, and greatly prized and looked forward to because so rare, as they were usually too busy trying to make a living from the soil and the sea to support their large families to indulge in frequent merrymakings.

The young people married early in life and raised families of ten,

twelve and even fourteen children, and today the descendants of those early settlers are scattered throughout the United States in every State in the Union, while the present inhabitants of Nantucket prove by their names that many descendants have remained there, for some of the "first families" are the Starbucks, Folgers, Coffins, Husseys, Gardners and Macys. These names and many others were possessed by the pioneers, who made up a working community, for men of trades were induced for shares and fractions of shares to assist in forming a settlement that would be independent of the outside world, which was very necessary, as they were far away from the mainland, with almost no means of reaching it at that time. The original nine men who were joint owners with Thomas Mayhew were Tristram Coffin, Christopher Hussey, Richard Swayne, Thomas Bernard, Peter Coffin, Stephen Greenleaf, John Swayne, Thomas Macy and Robert Pike. These men each received one share of land, and each was allowed to choose a partner who was given one share. To induce artisans and tradesmen to cast in their lot on this isolated island, one-half of one share was given to ten other men to render services in their various callings, which proved them shrewd, farsighted and businesslike, and was the proper way to colonize a wilderness. Thomas Macy was a weaver and merchant, John Salvage a cooper, Eleazer Folger a smith, Nathaniel Holland a tailor, Joseph Gardner a shoemaker; William Worth, Joseph Coleman and Richard Gardner were seamen. Peter Folger was an important member of the settlement, for he had been a teacher of the Indians on Martha's Vineyard Island, and was able to interpret their language. He could also measure and survey land, and at different times performed the duties of miller, blacksmith and clerk. His versatile gifts were destined to survive, for the genius Benjamin Franklin, whom the world honors as journalist, statesman, diplomat and philosopher, and whose name is famed in history, was his grandson, being the youngest of Abiah Folger Franklin's seventeen children. Thus the little island out to sea had the nucleus of an independent, self-sustaining kingdom in the skill and variety of trades of its inhabitants, each of whom in his strife for a livelihood in an undeveloped country was bound to produce results. The women here, as in every country of every civilized government, did their very large share. They reared large families of children, they spun the wool for their own garments, and no doubt did much of the weaving too. Writers



A NANTUCKET MEMORIAL

of today tell us that there are twelve thousand descendants of Tristram Coffin that can be authentically traced.

One day in the year 1672 a whale drifted into the bay, and, with the help of the Indians and their own ingenuity, the settlers succeeded after three days in making a harpoon and capturing it. After trying out the blubber and finding it marketable, they began to see visions of a livelihood in whale fishing, so they divided the south shore into four parts, each having six men and a lookout from which one of them sighted the whale, and then all put out in a boat to catch him. They prospered in this, secured other boats, established try-works, and very soon it became a popular and lucrative business. Alexander Hussey and his crew were one day blown out into deeper and farther-away waters, and their boat ran into a school of sperm whales. He succeeded in bringing one of them to shore, and from that time on sperm whales became the object of their fishing expeditions, and a business was begun which was so far-reaching in its commercial value and extent that even their wildest dreams of avarice could not have imagined it. The "right" whale which they had first captured was the possessor of much whalebone, but at that time they did not know of its uses and values. However, the sperm whale gave them such quantities of oil that their fortunes were made, for the whole world required the oil for lighting purposes, and nowhere were men so skillful in whale-catching as the white men and Indians of Nantucket Island.

After one hundred years of this prosperity, all was changed by the Revolutionary War. During the eight years of the war's duration the people were prisoners on their island. Many of those who ventured forth on fishing expeditions were captured by the British whose ships infested the waters, and the same danger menaced them if they attempted to secure supplies from the mainland. The colonial government was powerless to protect them in their unfortified exposed position. The success of whaling and the extremely poor soil for farming had of course thrown most of their endeavors toward the former occupation, therefore they were unprovided with provisions, grains and other food stuffs which they had been importing as needed. It was not long before their supplies were very low, and those who had money found it fast dwindling and they faced poverty; while those without money, and their means of livelihood taken from them, literally saw starvation before them. As in our

Great World War, the women were active in relieving suffering in every way possible with their limited means. They spun the wool from the sheep and made clothing, collected funds for the destitute, and everyone who had anything shared it with those who had nothing. When matters seemed as bad as they could possibly be, four British boats entered the harbor and the crews sacked their storehouse, where a quantity of grain was stored for food and seed purposes. After that they lived in constant terror of renewed raids. The colonial government refused to pay any attention to appeal after appeal for assistance and protection, for they had voted to remain *neutral* to both sides. By descent they were British, and their sympathies were inclined to be on that side, but they were subjects of the colonies refusing to take part in their struggle. Each side, therefore, was suspicious of them and accused them of giving aid to the other, whereas they were destitute themselves.

The majority of the citizens were Quakers who had "conscientious objections" against fighting, and not only would not assist their country, but would not even provide fortifications for the protection of their little island "kingdom". Indirectly they were vitally concerned in the *cause* of the war, for in 1773 three ships, the *Dartmouth*, *Eleanor* and *Beaver*, which had taken cargoes of oil to London from Nantucket, came back laden with tea for Boston, and it was on their arrival in Boston Harbor that the historical "Boston Tea Party" took place. The *Beaver* was owned in Nantucket, and the captain, Hezekiah Coffin, was a Nantucketer. Once again the *Beaver* was prominent in history, for hers was the honor of being the first vessel to fly the American flag in a British port, which occurred on February 3rd, 1783.

When the war finally ended, the Nantucketers had lost so many boats through capture, those in port had become out of repair through long disuse, and they were financially unable to restore and refit them, that it took them a long time to recover. The old men were too weak to work the farms, and the young men *would not*, so gradually whaling, the occupation they had learned to know so well and loved the best, was resumed. They ventured forth into other waters where prosperity smiled once more, for whales were plentiful after their long years of being unmolested, and within ten years business was thriving. The whalers swept the Seven Seas, finding

excellent "grounds" off the coasts of Bahamas, Labrador, Brazil and Guinea, and the fame of this little island became worldwide.

Then came the war of 1812, and the conditions of the Revolution were repeated, but not for so long a period, and again they recovered. They now invaded the waters of the Pacific and found whaling there very lucrative, especially in the waters around Japan. They discovered and named many islands in the Pacific. These voyages took long months and years, sometimes even four years, so that they spent only a few weeks or months at home. They never returned without a full cargo, which consisted of as many hogsheads as the ship would hold. Boys of fourteen shipped on these whalers, having already spent two years learning to be coopers, and men of all ages up to forty, but after that age they were considered unable to endure the rigors and hardships connected with the long and arduous voyages. However, after a few voyages the captains were able to retire with sufficient to be considered very wealthy in those days, and the young men made enough to be able to command their own ship after a couple of voyages, for each of the officers and crew received a share of the profits of the cargo in proportion to the importance of their position and earning capacity, and this plan worked satisfactorily to all concerned. An example of the value of a cargo will be seen by the following historical note: "April 19, 1830, the ship *Sarah*, Capt. Frederick Arthur, returned from a three years' voyage with 3497 barrels of sperm oil valued at \$98,000, which was one of the greatest quantities ever brought in."

In 1843 whaling began to decline, for not only were the whales getting scarce, but whale oil was being superseded by petroleum, which was cheaper and more pleasant to use for lighting than sperm oil, and it was being found in many countries and in everincreasing quantities. In 1846 a fire which wiped out one-third of the town of Nantucket and destroyed much of the whaling property, was still another obstacle, but the people kept on in a small way until 1869, when the last whaling boat sailed from Nantucket, and thus was concluded an industry which had endured on the island for two hundred years.

The first established religions in Nantucket were Presbyterian and Baptist, but at an early date Quakerism became identified there and flourished, or at least abided, for two hundred years. This religion

was founded by John Fox in England, who on one occasion when he appeared before the magistrates told them to "quake at the name of the Lord", and the magistrates thereupon called the society that Fox represented "Quakers". Fox came to America in 1647, when it was a comparative wilderness, and was persecuted and imprisoned, as were also his converts. In 1650 three men and a woman were hanged for being Quakers. In 1656 two women were imprisoned as witches, and afterwards banished. In 1657 Massachusetts passed a law prohibiting the entertaining of Quakers, and Thomas Macy of Salisbury was fined thirty shillings for so doing, although he explained in a letter to the court that the two men were in his house less than three-quarters of an hour, that they said little, and that he did not know for sure that they were Quakers. It has been said that it was on account of this fine that he emigrated to Nantucket.

The first Quaker preacher, with other "Friends", visited Nantucket in 1700, and, while not persecuted, he met with a good deal of opposition at first. Gradually his religion, which believed in the "Inner Light" and that even though *in* the world one should not be *of* it, was accepted by a few people, one of the first being Mrs. Mary Starbuck, known in history as "The Great Woman", who at the age of fifty-six became one of the preachers and its most ardent supporter. Her influence made a host of converts to the faith, among them her ten children, and at its height more than half of the population of Nantucket was Quaker. It was a popular religion, because easy to join and cost very little. It grew in popularity for a century, when it began to lose its hold on the people because of its severity and despotism. It allowed no pleasures or recreations to its members, no music in the home, and even dictated what people should wear and whom they should marry; thus the young people were driven to seek amusement in the streets, at the wharfs and in public places, which was far from being a good influence, and eventually they broke away from the discipline of Quakerism. For trivial faults they were dismissed from the church. "Deborah Smith was set aside because she did not use the 'thee and thou' of the Quakers, and it was reported that she said she did not think she ever should. Another was disowned for keeping a spinnet, and a violin to play upon. Dances, picnic and moonlight excursions for pleasure were forbidden,"—and I know of no more wonderful place to enjoy the witching moonlight than when it makes a pathway of gold on the

NANTUCKET—YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW

water and lights up the cliffs and moors of Nantucket. Still another lassie was disowned for tying her hair in curls. A man was disowned for apprenticing his son to a man not a Quaker. It must be said in their favor that their moral and righteous lives have been a power for good on modern civilization, but they carried it too far and with too much severity, and society would not and could not accept its unnaturalness.

At one time, when Quakerism was at its zenith, the Quakers controlled the politics of the island and dominated and dictated its government. When the Revolutionary War broke out, their policy was "submission and patience." They would not fight, neither would they pay any part of the cost of maintaining an army to defend their country. This failure to live up to their obligations as citizens was one of the chief factors in the decline of Quakerism, for it was difficult to keep the younger generation neutral when their country was calling; but they had been so schooled in discipline and obedience that they submitted for the time being, only to break away eventually, for, when the Civil War broke out, Nantucket provided more than her quota of men for both army and navy, and her loyalty in the Great World War was unquestioned. She subscribed liberally to every Liberty Loan, and her sons were represented in army, navy, aviation and coast guard. It still remains for the history to be written of the wonderful work of feeding Central Europe during the World War which was so humanely carried out by the Philadelphia Quakers. They were "conscientious objectors" in warfare, but angels of mercy in sustaining life. But this is a digression from the history of the Nantucket Quakers.

When whaling declined, there was a grand rush to other States, some settling in New York, the Carolinas, Maine, some even going to France. In 1849 the gold fever in California attracted large numbers. Naturally this exodus thinned the ranks of the Quakers, and by 1900, two hundred years after the first preacher arrived, there was not one Quaker left in Nantucket. No honor can be paid at their graves except in history and in the hearts of those who have blood-cause to remember them as ancestors, for in their simplicity they placed neither stone nor flower to mark the graves of their dead. Douglas-Lithgow writes: "In the last burying place of the Quakers, at the corner of upper Main and Saratoga streets, with the exception of a few small markers in the Hicksite section, there is

nothing to indicate that beneath the weedy grass of the enclosure between nine and ten thousand human bodies are buried, without even a flower to mark any of their graves, and yet there is none of the old Nantucket families whose ancestors are not sleeping their last sleep in this neglected field."

Memory's shrine has been strengthened in history's page for at least one of the Nantucket Quakers in the person of Mrs. Lucretia Coffin Mott, who was born in Nantucket, January 3rd, 1793. She has the distinction of being the first advocate of Women's Rights, and became an active leader in this movement. This came about because of the fact that when she was sent to London in 1840 to the World Convention as a delegate of the American Anti-Slavery Society, she was not allowed to take her seat as a delegate, as all women were excluded.

It was during the early years of Quakerism that a sort of curfew was established called "Constable's Watch in the night season for suppressing disorders and breaches of the peace." This was in 1723, that the town, determined to curb the night carousals of Indians, negroes and undesirable persons, so ordered that anyone found on the wharf or streets after nine o'clock should be arrested. This worked for a time only, and eventually sixteen men were appointed as night watch, and it was voted in town meeting that "the 16 watchmen shall frequently give the time of night and looks of the weather, and other remarks worthy of notice, in a clear and audible voice." This was the beginning of the Town Crier system which flourished for nearly two hundred years. One of the early records of an event or ruling proclaimed by the public crier was that he "went about the island saying that if the Nanespepo Indian wife did not return to her husband within six weeks, Nanespepo is freed from her," and thus was divorce quick and easy.

As the years went on and lawlessness decreased as laws were upheld, the Constable's Watch disappeared, but the Town Crier remained as a disseminator of news, and finally as a picturesque feature of quaint Nantucket right up to our own day. Eventually there was but one Town Crier, the last being William D. Clark, who "from his watch tower signalled the approach of the Nantucket steamboat by toots on horn, from the windows at each point of the compass of the Unitarian church tower. In the south tower, watch was kept for fires and signalled by lanterns," and this custom was continued until



LAST OF THE OLD WIND MILLS



A NANTUCKET STREET

electric fire alarms were installed in 1907. In "Nooks and Corners of Massachusetts," Drake says of "Billy Clark," who died in 1909 after forty years of cheerful, efficient service:

"This functionary I met, swelling with importance, but a trifle blown from the frequent sounding of his clarion, to wit, a japanned fish horn. Wherever I wandered in my rambles he was sure to turn the corner just ahead of me, or to spring from covert of some blind alley. He was one of those who, Macy says, knew all the other inhabitants of the island; me he knew as a stranger. He stopped short. First he wound a terrible blast of his horn: Toot, t-o-o-t!! It echoed down the street like a discordant braying of a donkey. This he followed with the lusty ringing of a large dinner bell, peal on peal, until I was ready to exclaim with the Moor, 'silence that dreadful bell, it frights the isle from her propriety'! Then placing the fish-horn under his arm and taking the bell by the tongue, he delivered himself of his formula: 'Two boats a day! Burgess's meat auction this evening! Corned-beef! Boston Theatre, positively last night this evening!'"

Another favorite way of spreading the news was through the medium of the slate in the "Captain's room at Rotch's warehouse." Anyone who had a bit of news felt it a duty to get it written on that slate, when it rapidly became public property through the "old salts" who gathered there each day to re-live the old times in retrospective.

During the entire history of the island, the Nantucketers have been followers of Tristram Coffin's motto to "let all things remain as they were," and so devoted were they to these quaint means of circulating the news that when a newspaper was first "tried out" it could not exist, for they would have very little to do with it; but the "man with a message," as one might call the newspaper editor, was determined that Nantucket needed and should have a newspaper, and one attempt after another was tried, some with partial success, until finally two of them consolidated and today the "Nantucket Mirror and Inquirer" has a pretty fair circulation, especially with the summer visitors.

Every innovation along up-to-date lines has been fought tenaciously. The waterworks, which replaced the town pump, when suggested and worked out by Moses Joy, Jr., a Nantucketer, was bitterly opposed, partly because they said it could not be done, "for whoever heard of water running up hill," but probably the main

reason was that they knew it would increase taxation. The sewage system was likewise bitterly opposed, but finally they gave in, for it became imperative to convert the island into a sanitary place by clearing the water front of all relics of the odoriferous whale, and by having proper water and sewage facilities, if the "summer boarder" was to be invited to enjoy their hospitality. Likewise they opposed the enterprise of two boats a day, but in time were convinced that this, too, was for the best interests of the island, for this was an important concession if they would entice the stranger to their shores.

Transportation on the island has not been settled so amicably, however, for history shows that it has been the subject of one long fight against advancement since the day of the "single-horse carts" to the advent of the automobile. Crevecoeur says in his "Letters of an American Farmer" that:

"A few years ago two single-horse chairs were imported from Boston, to the great offense of these prudent citizens; nothing appeared to them more culpable than the use of such gaudy painted vehicles, in contempt of the more useful and more simple single-horse cart of their fathers. This piece of extravagance almost caused a schism and set every tongue a-going; some predicted the approaching ruin of these families that imported them; never since the foundation of the town had there happened anything which so much alarmed this primitive community. One of the possessors of these profane chairs, filled with repentance, wisely sent it back to the continent. The other, more obstinate, persisted in the use of his chair until by degrees they became more reconciled to it; though I observed that the wealthiest and the most respectable people still go to meeting or to their farms in a single-horse cart with a decent awning fixed over it."

Railroads have been established on different parts of the island, only to endure for a short season and then disappear. A street car line in the village was in operation for a time, but for lack of patronage that, too, failed. In 1869 there was a fad for riding velocipedes. The most violent war was waged against the automobile, resulting in much bitter feeling, and eventually a law was passed by the State excluding it from the town limits. Mr. Clinton Folger, who brought the first automobile to the island, was not to be thwarted in his determination to carry the mail between 'Sconset and Nantucket in an auto, and the day he brought his car from the boat the streets were

lined with indignant people almost ready to mob him and his auto. He carried the mail for a few trips, and then the law was passed which stopped him. However, he cleverly got around it by hitching a horse to his automobile until he reached the city limits on his way to 'Sconset, then unhitched the horse, started the engine, and delivered his mail and carried along any passengers who desired to make the trip. On the return trip, when reaching the city limits milestone, the power was shut off, the "horse" power attached, and he drove his auto into town. This continued for several months, until the law was revised to cover the technicality, and he had to abandon the use of his automobile. Very soon, however, there were others who wanted to use automobiles, and summer visitors wanted to bring theirs along, so it was voted on again in town meeting, but so bitter was the opposition still, that those who were for their admission did not dare admit it, and the Australian ballot was resorted to so that no one knew how anyone else voted. The majority vote was for the admission of the automobile. It must be admitted in all fairness, however, that the quaintness of Nantucket would have been better served by excluding them, although they are a source of convenience and delight to the summer people who take such enjoyment in trips lengthwise and across the moors and cranberry bogs of the island to Sankaty Head Light, Tom Never's Head, and the towns bearing Indian names which save from oblivion the memory of this lost race. Therefore Wannacomet, Muskeget, Madaket, Quidnet, Polpis and Wauwinet must be explored to see what mystery, if any, attaches to the name. The law which permitted the resumption of auto mail delivery to the 'Sconset postoffice has revolutionized the conditions and added to the comfort and fame of this little "patchwork village" since those days when the postoffice was established in 1872, when in November of that year Miss Love Baxter was engaged as postmistress at the magnificent salary of \$12 per *year*, and her father, Captain Em. Baxter, received \$8 per year for carrying the mail.

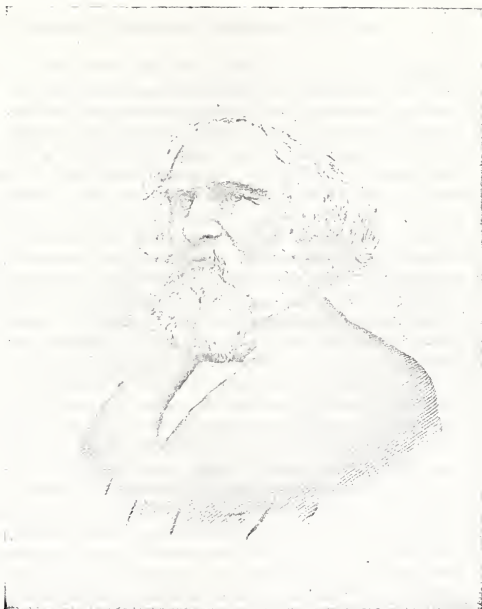
Nantucket of today is taking time to appreciate her history, for her perspective of past events is becoming far enough distant for her to see more clearly, and the strangers in search for romance and adventure are helping by their appreciation of the collections of ancient relics which occupies one of the former Quaker churches, and where are to be found the jaw of the largest whale ever caught; the old fire buckets, each bearing the name of the volunteer fireman who

always carried it when a fire broke out; pictures of the full-rigged sailing ships and excellent wood models of them; also oil paintings of their famous ancestors, and a host of interesting objects. But the thought occurred to me, as I examined them, how little there was to show of their visits to all countries of the world during whaling days, and how great was their integrity, for of course they would take nothing that did not belong to them, and would probably accept no gifts from these strange peoples; and, on the other hand, their money was too precious and hardly earned to barter it for spices from the Orient, silks from Japan, or ivories from Alaska. And so their exhibit contains nothing of these foreign countries.

Historic pride is also shown in the preservation of the house of their celebrated daughter, Maria Mitchell, and building the observatory to house the fine telescope which was presented to her by Vassar College. In 1847 she discovered the comet which bears her name and for which she received a medal from the King of Denmark. In 1848 she was elected an honorary member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and was the first woman to receive this honor. In 1865 she was appointed professor of astronomy and director of the Observatory at Vassar College, and history records that she was an inspiring and original teacher; also a firm believer in Woman Suffrage. For many years she was president of the American Association for the Advancement of Women.

The world has been enriched by the genius of many Nantuckers, and her sons and daughters are to be found in all parts of the globe. Their splendid qualities of religion, morality, self-respecting pride, New England thrift, and even their conservatism, have helped to leaven the character of all communities where they abide.

No one can prognosticate the tomorrow of Nantucket, but it is safe to assume that in no way will her importance to the world in the past be sufficient glory for the future. At present over ten thousand visitors are receiving of her hospitality annually. Perhaps through some of them a great future for her will unfold and develop.



HENRY W. LONGFELLOW

American Magazines, Past and Present

By CHARLES A. INGRAHAM, CAMBRIDGE, NEW YORK



ENJAMIN FRANKLIN, among many other distinctions, has that of having originated in Philadelphia in 1741 the first American magazine; it was a monthly and was called "The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle," and ran for six months, when it ceased to exist. Though the first number of "Bradford's Magazine," Philadelphia, appeared a few days earlier, the idea had been borrowed from Franklin. From this time on for a century and more, magazines came and went, nearly all of them having but a brief period of life, while men of real genius were ever ready to immolate themselves on the altar of the republic of letters, to heroically devote their lives and substance to the hopeless enterprise of maintaining a periodical devoted to "polite literature." Those old-time magazines have an antique atmosphere and appearance when compared with those of the day. Before me is a bound volume of "The New York Mirror" of 1834, a weekly, and "devoted to literature and the fine arts," its editors being George P. Morris, Theodore S. Fay and Nathaniel P. Willis, all distinguished writers in their generation. "The Mirror" has eight quarto pages, no advertisements, and has songs with accompaniments, or instrumental piano pieces, in each issue; a few beautiful full-page steel plate engravings adorn the volume, and an excellent selection of prose and poetry appears in its pages. The practical and commercial phases are not in evidence; politics receives little or no consideration, while fiction and a high class of articles predominate, with the travel letters of Fay and Willis as conspicuous features. Though this old periodical has a somewhat tame and conservative spirit in comparison with our present up-to-date and enterprising magazines, it commands respect for its calm and cultured management and for the air of refinement and amiable scholarship which pervade its columns, characteristics which, though they brought no reward of fortune to the proprietors, were yet an ele-

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vating influence in their day, and well appreciated, as this beautifully bound and carefully preserved volume attests.

In the old days of the newspaper and magazine, talented writers sought editorial chairs that they might have widely-spread exemplars of their ideas, and thus periodical literature was then of a more individualized, pronounced and forward-looking character than it is today; for this reason the history of American magazines and newspapers furnishes many interesting names and careers of those who were prominent editors in the early years. It might be said again in passing that those editorial influences were eminently characterized by the personal element; great journals like the "New York Tribune," "The Times" and "The Sun," spoke not as in the present day, impersonally, reflecting the ideas of the controlling powers, but these newspapers in their creative editorials and entire management set forth the mind and the will of their respective editors—Horace Greeley, Henry J. Raymond and Charles A. Dana. The same may be said of the old magazines; the editors of them were generally men of independent convictions and of widely acknowledged literary abilities, for in those days it was scholarly and finished writing which was generally considered to be essential for the success of a periodical, and accordingly the securing of an editor known to be proficient as an author was deemed an attractive and paying feature for the serial. On this account the history of American periodicals embraces not a few men and women of the highest literary reputation who have served in editorial capacities, beginning with Benjamin Franklin, the father of the magazine in this country, and continuing down to about fifty years ago, when the present methods began to be prominently introduced.

Thomas Paine, whose writings previous to and during the Revolution served immeasurably to promote the success of the Colonists, was first introduced to the people of this country as editor of "The Pennsylvania Magazine," in which periodical under the *nom de plume* of "Atlanticus" he won his first laurels in America. At the time of Paine's assuming this editorship, in February, 1775, there appeared an article from his pen entitled, "The Magazine in America," from which the following interesting paragraph is quoted:

"It has always been the opinion of the learned and curious, that a magazine, when properly conducted, is the nursery of genius; and by constantly accumulating new matter, becomes a kind of market

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for wit and utility. The opportunity which it affords to men of abilities to communicate their studies, kindles up a spirit of invention and emulation. An unexercised genius soon contracts a kind of mossiness, which not only checks its growth, but abates its natural vigor. Like an untenanted house it falls into decay, and frequently ruins the possessor."

Charles B. Brown, in his day a popular writer, was the first typical and distinctive American author to appear, and he is also notable for having been the first man of letters in this country to follow authorship as a profession and for a livelihood; he, too, served as an editor—first, in 1801, of Conrad's "Literary Magazine and American Review," Philadelphia, and later of "The Annual Register." Though all magazine enterprises were then a forlorn hope, Brown was, so far as possible, successful, promoting the prosperity of the periodicals which he edited; but his literary fame rests entirely upon his epochal books of fiction.

The brilliant and eccentric genius of Edgar Allan Poe was also employed in magazine editorship, "The Southern Literary Messenger," of Richmond, Virginia, having been his first experience in this line, but he was a passionate and somewhat dissipated person, and after quarreling with the owner of the periodical was compelled to resign; in 1837 he went to New York, where he was connected with "The Quarterly Review" of that city. Remaining there for a year, he was then associated with "Graham's Magazine," of Philadelphia, for a period of four years, a portion of the time serving as editor. Here he again had a disagreement with the publisher and sundered his relations with the periodical. Poe cherished an ambition to possess a magazine and to edit it according to his own ideals, and it is possible that, with his talents liberated from the embarrassing tutelage under which he ever labored, his genius might have more widely developed, but with his erratic nature and convivial habits it is unlikely that he would have achieved success either as editor or proprietor. It would appear, however, that he has been a much slandered person, while the commendable phases of his life and character have been slighted; it should be said to his credit that he was an industrious and painstaking writer, thorough and conscientious from a literary standpoint in all that he committed to print; during the fifteen years of his productive period he wrote voluminously and at wretchedly inadequate rates, being ever harassed with

poverty and anxiety, an invalid and beloved wife adding to the solicitude under which he disadvantageously labored. Years ago "Harper's Magazine" published a fine description of Poe's personal appearance and of his mental characteristics, from the pen of a "Lady Love," and it is here reproduced:

"Mr. Poe was about five feet eight inches tall, and had dark, almost black hair, which he wore long and brushed back in student style over his ears. It was as fine as silk. His eyes were large and full, gray and piercing. He was then, I think, entirely clean-shaven. His nose was long and straight, and his features finely cut. The expression about his mouth was beautiful. He was pale, and had no color. His skin was of a clear, beautiful olive. He had a sad, melancholy look. He was very slender when I first knew him, but had a fine figure, an erect military carriage and a quick step. But it was his manner that most charmed. It was elegant. When he looked at you it seemed as if he could read your very thoughts. His voice was pleasant and musical, but not deep.

"He always wore a black frock coat buttoned up, with a cadet or military collar, a low, turned-over shirt collar, and a black cravat tied in a loose knot. He did not follow the fashions, but had a style of his own. His was a loose way of dressing, as if he didn't care. You would know that he was very different from the ordinary run of young men. Affectionate! I should think he was; he was passionate in his love.

"My intimacy with Mr. Poe isolated me a good deal. In fact my girl friends were many of them afraid of him, and forsook me on that account. I knew none of his male friends. He despised ignorant people, and didn't like trifling and small talk. He didn't like dark-skinned people. When he loved, he loved desperately. Though tender and very affectionate, he had a quick, passionate temper and was very jealous. His feelings were intense, and he had but little control of them. He was not well balanced; he had too much brain. He scoffed at everything sacred, and never went to church. If he had had religion to guide him, he would have been a better man. He said often that there was a mystery hanging over him he never could fathom. He believed he was born to suffer, and this embittered his whole life."

This is a remarkably clear pen-picture of a most interesting character—of a gifted, wayward and unfortunate child of genius; cold and indifferent must be that person who can read this intimate and pathetic summing up of his merits and demerits without a feeling of sympathy and regret. Poe's military air, which is mentioned, was no doubt derived from his brief experience as a cadet at West Point Military Academy.



Horace Greeley

A well-nigh forgotten literary light and editor of the old days was a writer who bore the sounding, oracular name of Orestes Augustus Brownson, who, starting in life midst humble circumstances and with a limited education, became through self-instruction a man of prodigious learning, acquired several languages, and by diligent study made himself deeply read in many departments of human knowledge. Of a literary turn and enthusiastic disposition, he eagerly committed to writing and to the press the results of his ever-enlarging studies and the ideas which he prolifically evolved from them, so that he left behind him at his death a great mass of valuable and profound writings having to do with religion, philosophy, science and many other topics; after having considered in his investigations all religious systems and placed his various ideas in print, he finally adopted the Catholic church and its creed as the model for his faith and practice, and was thereafter actively devoted to that denomination. He was the founder of "Brownson's Quarterly Review," Boston, which ran from 1838 to 1844; in 1844, after having embraced the Catholic religion, he revived this periodical in New York, and it became the most prominent organ of that church in the country. This was not the first field, however, of Brownson's editorial activity, for in the earlier portion of his career, when he was a believer in Universalism, he had served as editor of two different periodicals devoted to the interests of that faith. He partook of that freedom of thought advocated and exercised by the Transcendentalists, and had been associated with Emerson and other prominent persons of that school of philosophy and religion, but the liberty of opinion which they assumed and moderately cultivated was abused by Brownson, who in the nineteen volumes of his works shows himself to have been wedded in a sort of intellectual bigamy to a variety of religious and philosophical beliefs, one after another, he himself admitting that he "had accepted and vindicated nearly every error into which the human race has ever fallen."

As one reverts from the practical literary policies of the day to the editors and writers of the years which we are considering, it is like visiting another land and another people, so different are the aims and the methods employed. These former days were notable in the literary sphere for sincerity, power and fecundity of thought, for an enthusiastic searching after ultimate truth, for a striving towards the realization of ideals; and not for pecuniary profit, but

for the enjoyment of the high enterprise and the anticipated gratification of the attainment. There were giants in those days—poets, preachers, essayists, philosophers, novelists—and as in the pages of their books we trace their mighty strides, we mourn for the absence of their progeny, for they left no heirs of their greatness. But the favorable conditions in the midst of which these thinkers developed have ceased to exist; there were then fewer distractions, less of urban population and of the commercial spirit; the weekly newspaper was the principal channel of information for the most of the people; the dissemination of news and opinions was slow; human life was unartificial and its interests were largely centered and engrossed in the little neighborhood communities, with their postoffices, stores and artisan shops—the people lived within themselves and for the most part supplied their own wants; there were, therefore, opportunities to think, and where that exists—where there is room for thought—there will arise great thinkers. The advent of rapid printing presses, the employment of wood-pulp paper, cheap postage, the telegraph, telephone and other means of speedy and general communication and distribution; the wiping out of the small villages by the centralized activities of the cities; the introduction of the rural post routes by which all are able to have daily papers; amateur photography and the invention of photo-engraving, by which agencies illustrated magazines have been multiplied and brought within the means of and made convenient to all, building up great periodical publishing concerns—all this has conduced to a superficial and general enlightenment, but it has not fostered original and deep thinking, and without profound thought little of real and permanent value is wrought. Periodical literature has degenerated to a commercial level; profiting by the great amount derived from advertisements, which depend, of course, upon the extent of the circulation, the popular magazines have use for only those writers who are competent to entertain the largest number of readers, which condition has had a discouraging effect upon the producers of a more thoughtful and permanent literature.

Standing in the middle ground between the old-time and the modern magazine proprietor is the unique personality of Robert Bonner; he was the first of that line of periodical magnates who by the adoption of bold and daring business methods achieve success. Born in Ireland in 1824 and coming to this country at the age of fifteen, he



Henry Ward Beecher
—H—

became an apprentice in the "Hartford (Conn.) Courant" printing office. He developed into an expert and rapid compositor, and coming to New York was employed by "The Evening Mirror," making use of his leisure hours to write newsletters to "The Courant." Having accumulated a modest capital, he purchased in 1851 "The Merchants' Ledger," of New York, converted it into a literary weekly, and engaged Fanny Fern, a popular writer of the day, to contribute to the periodical at one hundred dollars a column, which was considered an enormous amount at that time for such work. Fanny Fern was the pen-name of Sara P. Willis, a sister of Nathaniel P. Willis; she married James Parton who, in his day, was a widely known author and whose biographies of noted men are still read and admired. Bonner renamed his weekly "The New York Ledger," and through the advertising he gave it and from the employment of the highest writing talent available, it acquired a vast circulation and made a fortune for its owner. His outlay for advertising frequently amounted to twenty-five thousand dollars a week, while Charles Dickens and other great literary men of the times were contributors; he paid Henry Ward Beecher, then the most famous clergyman of the country, thirty thousand dollars for his novel, "Norwood," which appeared serially and was widely read. In the meantime, however, Bonner allowed no advertisements to appear in "The Ledger," the periodical criterion of the day being no advertisements and no illustrations. Longfellow was not too proud and conservative to sell his poems to this frankly-confessed money-making magazine; three thousand dollars were paid him by Bonner for his poem, "The Hanging of the Crane;" but the bulk of the reading matter which appeared in "The Ledger" appealed to the less discriminating portion of the public.

Bonner was fond of horses, and spent as much as six hundred thousand dollars in the gratification of this hobby, purchasing the fastest trotters for fabulous prices, but never engaging in public races. This, of course, was an indirect method of advertising; the writer well remembers the astonishment that prevailed when the news was excitedly spread throughout the country that Bonner of "The Ledger" had bought "Dexter," a trotting horse that held the world's record, paying for him a great price, and to be used merely as a driving horse. It may be said that two incongruous episodes gave "The Ledger" and its owner their greatest renown—the se-

curing of Beecher's "Norwood," and the purchase of "Dexter." Bonner was, however, an excellent and popular man, of an amiable and friendly disposition, a liberal contributor to philanthropic purposes and a faithful adherent of his church; altogether he was the most conspicuous, unique and successful periodical publisher of his generation.

To emphasize what has already been said: in recent years magazine publishing and editing has grown to be in many instances a purely commercial enterprise, with literary ideals forgotten in the rush for an enlarging circulation, though there are some exceptions. Beginning about the year 1870, advertisements began to appear profusely in the magazines, and with the great profits thus accruing, the success of periodical publishing was assured, although, as can easily be understood, this policy necessitated a departure from the former ideals which had been maintained in editorial rooms, and required an adaptation to the ideas and activities of the day, in order that the circulation might be increased and thus higher prices afforded for the display of advertisements. Hence, the demand that the editors of such magazines now make upon writers is for fiction that has striking episodes, strange and unheard-of situations, droll phraseology, barbarian dialect—anything to attract and hold the attention of the masses and sell the periodical. As to material of rare and refined sentiment, or of a meditative or historic character, it finds no market in the average magazine of today. Instead of the old-time editor, thoughtful, discriminating, wedded to the highest traditions of literature, with lofty ethical standards, refusing, in agreement with the author, to have names appended to articles, so that merit and only merit might sway in them;—in place of this, we have now a class of men making up the selections for many of our periodicals who are in close touch with the circulation manager and the news-stand, and who derive their cues from those practical sources. Guided by this policy the American magazine has developed to astonishing material success and arrived at proportions unequaled by any other nation on the globe, for practically every family in this country is a subscriber to one or more monthlies or weeklies, and frequently to half a dozen. The older and conservative periodicals, threatened with extinction by the rush for the ephemeral and bizarre, are gradually succumbing to the popular demand.

These conditions have exercised, of course, a deleterious effect up-

on the writer fraternity, who, though certain of them have been pecuniarily successful beyond anything in the history of authorship, have been compelled to lower their standards, or to curb their aspirations for the attainment of the higher planes of literary achievement. Thus, there is now little opportunity as in former times for the independent and conscientious writer to rise into honorable distinction, for the great periodicals either have under contract or ready to respond to their calls, a group of writers who are experts in just the line of material which they employ. It is not uncommon for several periodicals to be owned and managed by one publishing concern, and in such cases it is the fashion to employ a staff of adept fiction writers on weekly wages, who furnish the stories used by the various magazines issued by the firm. The tendency to specialization which is operative in every field of human activity has manifested itself in the literary sphere, so that today an editor instead of depending upon unsolicited material sent in by unknown writers, delegates men of his staff, or other persons whom he deems competent, to write the fiction or the article that he wishes; in fact, editors of magazines not infrequently block out for authors the treatment of the material they desire, even providing for story writers the plots of the yarns they are to build around them. It will be apparent from all this that the unknown and unfledged writer stands but little chance of gaining an acceptance from magazines of the character which we have been discussing.

But there is a brighter side to periodical literature in the United States; so far we have been dealing with the popular prints, those which sell to the hurrying, indiscriminating portion of the people, to those who have not the inclination nor even the time to peruse thoughtful and instructive writings; but it should be remembered that there are a great many persons to whom the worthier type of magazine would appeal, were publishers willing to produce and authors to write them for the comparatively small remuneration which they would achieve. This field, however, is being widely cultivated today, more than ever since the coming in of the floods of popular periodicals, by a host of religious, household, historical, fraternal, reform and educational magazines, many of which have very large circulations, are ably edited and attractively printed and illustrated, and though never seen on news stands nor hawked on trains, are silently performing a great and cultural work. In the meantime,

the multiplying of a class of magazines aiming at the opposite effect—something to startle and dazzle—is a process of grave digging preparatory to death by starvation, hundreds of them having ceased to exist within the past few years, and the end is not yet. The great newspapers, particularly the Sunday editions, are, with their magazine features, rivaling and even distancing many of them in the race for popularity.

The eclipse of the old-time dignified magazine has been accompanied with the failing renown of the author;—no longer does he command the veneration of the people;—thousands are writing but generally without any distinctive personality; the output lacks individuality, sincerity, high purpose and ethical, cultural atmosphere; it is common, ordinary, wanting deep and lasting merit, devoid of appeal to the best sentiments of the people, without which it is destined to go into the limbo of ephemeral literature. But in the decades to come there will perchance yet live some story, poem or article that a sincere and worthy soul has committed to writing and which the editor of some obscure periodical has appreciated and printed, which will shine on into the future, an inspiration to the reader and a lasting honor to the author.





WILLIAM PENN

The Early American Press

BY JOHN WOOLF JORDAN, LL.D., LIBRARIAN OF THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA



ANDREW HAMILTON, the earliest and most conspicuous champion of the liberty of speech and of the press in America, as well as one of the ablest lawyers and statesmen the colonies produced, was for over twenty-five years a resident of Philadelphia. A Scotchman by birth, his immigration to America and its cause are somewhat shrouded in mystery. The family tradition is that he was obliged to flee from his native country in consequence of the killing of a person of some importance in a duel. Always the champion of right and justice, even when opposed to conventional customs or laws, he was doubtless involved in some of the political difficulties of Great Britain during the reign of King William.

He was born about 1670, and seems to have come to America during the first decade of the following century. On March 26, 1708, he purchased of John Toads six hundred acres on the north side of Chester river, in Kent county, Maryland, on the present site of the town of Millington, the plantation then being known by the name of "Henberry." In the deed for this property he is described as of Northampton county, Virginia. During his residence in Virginia he seems to have concealed his real name, and have taken that of Trent. The fact that after the accession of Queen Anne he resumed his real name, may be taken to indicate that his flight and temporary obscure life in Virginia was caused by some political trouble. As he eventually returned to England and obtained admission to Gray's Inn and the English Bar, it is very evident that he did not emigrate to America under any disgraceful charge.

While a resident of Virginia he is said to have had charge of an

NOTE—These pages are reproduced from one of Dr. Jordan's monumental works, "Colonial and Revolutionary Families of Pennsylvania," 1911; Lewis Publishing Company, whose business and archives are now vested in The American Historical Society, Inc., New York.

estate, and to have conducted a classical school. After his removal to Kent county, Maryland, he practiced law not only in Kent but in adjoining counties, and as far north as Philadelphia, making "Henberry" his residence for several years. By 1721 he was established in Chestertown, with a large practice and a great reputation as a lawyer. In that year he was retained as attorney for William Penn in a suit against Berkley Codd, Esq., of Sussex county, on the Delaware, whose step-great-granddaughter Andrew Hamilton, son of the distinguished attorney, later married, obtaining through her the handsome estate of "Woodlands," near Philadelphia, the home of the family for several generations. The suit of Penn vs. Codd had to do with a dispute over the rights of Penn under the grant from the Duke of York.

It is supposed that the legal studies of Andrew Hamilton, commenced in Great Britain, must have been completed in Maryland, where there were among the officials of the government several men of considerable legal attainments, and among the gentry of the Eastern Shore some highly educated men. He, however, felt the need of the additional standing which membership in the English Bar gave to those practicing before the early Colonial Justices, and late in 1712 sailed for England, on January 27, 1712-13, was admitted a member of Gray's Inn, as Mr. Andrew Hamilton of Maryland, and on February 10th following was called to the Bar.

Returning to Maryland, he resumed his extensive practice at Chestertown. He was selected as one of the Assembly summoned by Governor John Hart to meet on April 26, 1715, for the purpose of codifying the laws of the Province of Maryland, being one of the four deputies from Kent county. Not being present when the Assembly met, he was summoned by the sergeant-at-arms, and on his appearance excused himself on the ground that he was engaged as counsel in an important case before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. The delegates fined him forty-five shillings for non-attendance, but they placed him at once on the Committee of Laws, and the forty-six chapters of the Acts of 1715, codified by that committee, formed the basis of the statute law of the Province down to the Revolution and for long afterwards. Some time during the next two years, Andrew Hamilton gave up his Maryland residence and made his home in Philadelphia. He had subsequently added to his purchase of "Henberry" a neighboring plantation called "Partner-

ship," and after removing to Philadelphia sold both estates, by deed dated September 16, 1717, to Gilbert Falconer.

Andrew Hamilton was appointed Attorney General of Pennsylvania, September 24, 1717, and held that office until his resignation in 1726, his successor, Joseph Growden, Junr., of Bucks county, being commissioned September 26th following. In 1720 he was called to the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, and only consented to serve on condition that his attendance should not be allowed to interfere with the practice of his profession; and, though he retained membership in the council until his death in 1741, he seems rarely if ever to have taken a seat in that body.

On his resignation of the Attorney General's office, he made an extended visit to England, and on his return, June 5, 1727, was appointed by Governor Patrick Gordon to be Prothonotary of the Court of Philadelphia. He had previously (July 30, 1723), been made a Master of the High Court of Chancery. In 1727 he was elected a member of the Colonial Assembly from Bucks county, and continued to represent that county in the House until the close of the session in 1739, filling the position of speaker from 1729 until his voluntary retirement, excepting the session of 1733-4, receiving at one time the unanimous vote of the members for that office. He took a leading part in the business of the House from the first, being chairman of its most important committees, and the author of most of the addresses to the Governor and Proprietors, as well as to the English Government, and was also the draughtsman of the important Acts. He was a trustee of the Loan Office, and had charge of the building of the now historic State House at Philadelphia, for which he furnished the designs.

The address of Andrew Hamilton to the Assembly at the close of the session of 1739 when he announced his retirement from that body, so well illustrates the high character and noble resolves of the man, as well as his appreciation of the benefit of the form of government enacted by William Penn, that it is inserted here almost in its entirety:

"Gentlemen: As the service of the Country should be the only Motive to induce any man to take upon him the Country's Trust, which none ought to assume who find themselves incapable of giving such a constant Attendance as the nature of so great Trust requires; and as you are witnesses of the frequent Indispositions of Body I

have so long laboured under, particularly during the winter Season (the usual Time of doing Business here), and being apprehensive that, by Reason of my Age and Infirmities, which daily increase, I may be unable to discharge the Duty expected from a Member of Assembly; I therefore hope that these Considerations alone, were there no others, will appear to you sufficient to justify the Determination I am come to, of declining the farther Service of the Province in a Representative Capacity.

"As to my Conduct, it is not for me to condemn or commend it. Those who have sat here from time to time during my standing, and particularly these several Gentlemen present, who were Members when I first came into the House (whom I now see with pleasure) have the Right to judge of my Behavior, and will censure or approve it as it has deserved. But whatever that may have been, I know my own Intentions, and that I have ever had at Heart the Preservation of Liberty, the Love of which as it first drew me to, so it constantly prevailed upon me to reside in this Province, tho' to the manifest Prejudice of my Fortune.

"But (waiving all Remarks of a private Nature, which Reflections of this kind might naturally, and justly lead me into), I would beg Leave to observe to you, That it is not to the Fertility of our Soil, and the Commodiousness of our Rivers, that we ought chiefly to attribute the great Progress this Province has made, within so small a Compass of Years, in Improvements, Wealth, Trade, and Navigation, and the extraordinary Increase of People, who have been drawn thither from almost every Country in Europe; a Progress which much more ancient Settlements on the Main of America cannot at present boast of. No, it is principally and almost wholly owing to the Excellency of our Constitution, under which we enjoy a greater Share of both civil and religious Liberty than any of our Neighbors.

"It is our greatest Happiness that instead of triennial Assemblies, a Privilege which other Colonies have long endeavored to obtain, but in vain, ours are annual, and for that Reason, as well as others, less liable to be practiced upon, or corrupted, either, with Money or Presents. We sit upon our own Adjournments, when we please, and as long as we think necessary, and are not to be sent a Packing, in the Middle of a Debate, and disabled from representing our just Grievances to our Gracious Sovereign, if there should be Occasion, which has often been the hard fate of Assemblies in other Places.

"We have no Officers but what are necessary; none but what earn their Salaries, and those generally are either elected by the People or appointed by their Representatives.

"Other Provinces swarm with unnecessary Officers, nominated by the Governors, who often make it a Main part of their Care to Support these Officers (notwithstanding their Oppressions). At all

events, I hope it will ever be the wisdom of our Assemblies to create no great Offices or Officers, nor indeed any Officer at all, but what is really necessary for the Service of the Country, and to be sure and let the People, or their Representatives, have at least, a share in their Nomination or Appointment. This will always be a good Security against the mischievous Influence of Men holding Places at the Pleasure of the Governor.

“Our foreign Trade and Shipping are free from all imposts, except the small Duties payable to his Majesty by the Statute Laws of Great Britain. The Taxes which we pay for carrying on the Publick Service is inconsiderable; for the sole Power of raising and disposing of the Publick Money for the support of Government is lodged in the Assembly, who appoint their own Treasurer, and to them alone he is accountable. Other incidental Taxes are assessed, collected and applied by Persons annually chosen by the People themselves. Such is our happy State as to Civil Rights. Nor are we less happy in the enjoyment of a perfect Freedom as to Religion. By many years Experience, we find that an Equality among Religious Societies, without distinguishing any one Sect with greater Privileges than another, is the most effectual Method to discourage Hypocrisy, promote the Practice of moral Virtues, and prevent the Plagues and Mischiefs that always attend religious Squabbling.

“This is our Constitution, and this Constitution was framed by the wisdom of Mr. Penn, the first Proprietor and Founder of the Province, whose Charter of Privileges to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania will ever remain a Monument of his Benevolence to Mankind and reflect more lasting Honor on his Descendants than the largest Possessions. In the Framing of this Government, he reserved no Powers to himself or his Heirs to oppress the People; no Authority but what is necessary for our Protection, and to hinder us from falling into Anarchy; and therefore (supposing we could persuade ourselves that all our Obligations to our great Law-giver, and his honourable Descendants, were entirely cancelled), yet our own Interests should oblige us carefully to support the Government on its present Foundation, as the only Means to secure to ourselves and our Posterity the enjoyment of those Privileges, and the Blessings flowing from such a Constitution, under which we cannot fail of being happy if the Fault is not our own. . . .

“As this, Gentlemen, is likely to be the last Time I may trouble you with anything in this Place, I hope you will the more easily pardon the Liberties I have taken, and that you will farther permit me here to acknowledge my Obligations to that County, which has so often elected me for one of their Representatives; and at the same time to assure you, that I shall always retain a grateful Sense of the great Confidence so long reposed in me, and the Honour so

frequently conferred upon me by many successive Assemblies, in calling me to the chair of this honourable House."

Strange though it may appear, it would seem that Andrew Hamilton, during a portion of the time that he was serving as Speaker of the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania, was also filling a like position in the Assembly of the Three Lower Counties, now the State of Delaware. The Laws of Delaware, printed by Franklin, 1741, show that a number of the more elaborate statutes bear the signature of Andrew Hamilton as Speaker. Among them are the Acts for Regulating Elections, for Securing the Administration of Estates, for the Confirmation of Titles to Lands; and for Establishing Courts of Equity. These were all, without doubt, like the important statutes on these lines in Pennsylvania, drawn by Andrew Hamilton, and have been cited as evidence of his great ability by eminent lawyers. A letter from John French, Speaker of the House of the Lower Counties, dated March 15, 1726, tenders to Andrew Hamilton the thanks of "The Representatives of this Government in Assembly," for "services you have this session done."

It is mainly through the laws that bear impress of his professional ability, that we gain an accurate knowledge of Mr. Hamilton's eminent ability as a lawyer, as only fragmentary and traditional evidences of his professional attainments have come down to us, with the exception of his celebrated argument in the Zenger libel case in New York, which, says truly one of his biographers, "has procured for him a place in the History of Liberty, and has been called by Gouverneur Morris 'the Day Star of the Revolution,' as it unquestionably awakened the public mind throughout the Colonies to a conception of the most sacred rights as citizens and as subjects of a Free Country."

John Peter Zenger, whom it is said Andrew Hamilton knew when a resident of Kent county, Maryland, had gone to New York, where he learned the printer's trade with William Bradford. On November 5, 1733, Zenger started the publication of "The New York Weekly Journal." It at once marked a new era in American journalism, as up to that time political discussion was unknown in American newspapers, and almost as much so in England. Zenger's "Journal" from the first was filled with a series of articles able, witty, sarcastic, and severely personal, criticizing the acts of officers of the government of New York and New Jersey, and harped incessantly

santly on "The Liberty of the Press." The cry was readily taken up by the people of both States, as well as in other localities, even as far south as Charleston, where a paper of like calibre was soon started. The columns of "The Journal" were open to all, and the leading articles were doubtless written by Lewis Morris, James Alexander and William Smith, the leaders of the Popular Party as opposed to the "Court Party" composed of the adherents of Governor Cosby of New York, between which two factions an extraordinarily bitter contest was being waged at the polls, in the forum of public opinion, and in the halls of legislation and government. On the election of Morris as a member of the New York Assembly from Westchester county, Zenger's paper was filled with songs, squibs and articles exulting over the victory, and severely scoring the other party. When a year later (1734) a like rejoicing over the success of the Popular Party had incensed the Court Party, Chief Justice DeLancey charged the grand jury that Zenger's paper was inculcating treason and defamation, and insisted on his indictment, but they contented themselves with presenting the songs and copies of the papers, to be burned by the common hangman. A year later, however, August 4, 1735, Zenger was brought to trial. Alexander and Smith, who appeared as Zenger's counsel, were disbarred by Chief Justice DeLancey. The friends of Zenger then secured the services of Andrew Hamilton, who undertook the case without fee or reward. Hamilton admitted the publication of the articles by his client, and laid the whole stress of his argument on their non-libelous character. The Chief Justice refusing to listen, Hamilton turned to the jury and declared that as the court would not hear him, the jury alone must be judge of the law as well as of the facts. And then for hours the great advocate held the packed court room spellbound, as he *made the first plea ever heard in America for the freedom of the citizen and of the press, from the tyranny of the rulers, and in criticism of their public acts.* Despite the extremely bitter charge of the Chief Justice, the verdict of the jury was "not guilty," and Zenger was borne away in triumph on the shoulders of his friends.

It was the most memorable trial ever held in America, and established the principle that in such cases the jury must be judges of the law and the evidence, and was therefore a grand victory for the people. The next day, when Hamilton was about to take the boat

for his home in Philadelphia, he was followed to the water's side by nearly the whole populace, who hailed him as the champion of popular liberty, and the corporation of New York presented him with "the freedom of the city," and a gold box for the seal. The speech of Andrew Hamilton was repeatedly printed in England and America, and "justly established its author's fame as the first lawyer of his time in the British Provinces." As was said, "It may be commended more for its bold enunciation of a principle, than for the accumulation of learned citations and for its argument from precedents; but it uses its authorities with masterly skill, and deals crushing blows to the prosecution and the court." The masterly effort in the interest of personal liberty is more to be commended from the fact that it was made entirely without remuneration or the hope thereof, and when the author was suffering from ill health.

Mr. Hamilton was in the employ of the Proprietary family from his removal to Philadelphia until his death. In the difficulties with Lord Baltimore he was particularly useful, and served in various commissions to meet the Maryland authorities in framing the Terms of Agreement in 1732 upon which the case was brought before the Privy Council, and prepared the materials for the brief upon which it was finally submitted to the Court of Chancery after his death. Chief Justice Langhorne, of Bucks county, in a letter to John Penn dated May 20, 1727, says: "I am very sorry the dispute you have with Lord Baltimore is not likely to be brought to an issue. . . . Had Mr. Hamilton's advice been strictly pursued relating to the disputes with the Province of Maryland, I am of opinion our Province would have come off with more credit and reputation." Andrew Hamilton was held in high consideration by his professional brethren in the neighboring provinces, where his opinion was constantly sought for. He was also consulted by different Provincial Governors, and was employed in the courts of several colonies.

The first Philadelphia home of Andrew Hamilton was the mansion on Chestnut street, near Third street, where it is said his son, Governor James Hamilton, was born, later owned and occupied by Israel Pemberton, and during Washington's administration occupied by Alexander Hamilton as the Treasury Department of the United States. The "Bush Hill" estate, where his later days were spent and where he died, was granted to him by William Penn, from

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a part of the Manor of Springettsbury. It comprised that part of the present city of Philadelphia extending from Vine street to Fairmount avenue and from Twelfth to Nineteenth streets. Here he erected a spacious and stately mansion in which he died, and where his son, the Governor, long dispensed a magnificent and generous hospitality. During Washington's administration it was the residence of John Adams, Vice-President of the United States. He also owned a great amount of valuable real estate in the city, on Walnut and Chestnut streets and elsewhere; also considerable land in New Jersey, in the Lower Counties, and in Bucks county.

Andrew Hamilton died at Bush Hill, August 4, 1741, and was buried in the family burying ground on that estate, but upon its sale his remains, with those of other members of the family, were removed to a spacious mausoleum in Christ Churchyard, which was closed upon the interment of the last of his name, about 1851.

On his death the following obituary notice, which was attributed to Benjamin Franklin, was published in the "Pennsylvania Gazette":

"On the fourth instant, died Andrew Hamilton, Esq., and was next day interred at Bush Hill, his Country Seat. His Corpse was attended to the grave by a great number of his friends, deeply affected with their own, but more with their Country's loss. He lived not without enemies; for, as he was himself open and honest, he took pains to unmask the hypocrite, and boldly censured the knave, without regard to station or profession. Such, therefore, may exult in his death. He steadily maintained the Cause of Liberty; and the laws made during the time he was Speaker of the Assembly, which was many years, will be a lasting monument of his affection to the people, and of his concern for the welfare of this Province. He was no friend to power, as he had observed an ill-use had been frequently made of it in the Colonies; and therefore was seldom on good terms with the Governors. This prejudice however, did not always determine his conduct towards them, for, when he saw they meant well, he was for supporting them honourably, and was indefatigable in endeavoring to remove the prejudice of others. He was long at the top of his profession here; and had he been as griping as he was knowing, he might have left a much greater fortune to his family than he has done. But he spent much more time in hearing and reconciling differences in private (to the loss of his fees) than he did in pleading cases at the bar. He was just when he sat as Judge, and though he was stern and severe in his manner, he was compassionate in his nature, and very slow to punish. He was a tender husband

and a fond parent. But these are virtues which fools and knaves have sometimes, in common with the wise and honest. His free manner of treating religious subjects gave offence to many, who, if a man may judge from their actions, were not themselves much in earnest. He feared God, loved merey, and did justice. If he could not subscribe to the Creed of any particular Church, it was not for want of considering them all, for he had read much on religious subjects. He went through a tedious sickness with uncommon cheerfulness, constancy and courage. Nothing of affected bravery or ostentation appeared; but such a composure and tranquility of mind as results from the reflection of a life spent agreeably to the best of man's judgment. He preserved his understanding and his regard for his friends to the last moment."

Andrew Hamilton married, March 6, 1706, in Northampton county, Virginia, Anne, widow of Joseph Preeson and daughter of Thomas and Susanna (Denwood) Brown. She was a lady of some fortune, and was connected with many of the best families in Maryland. She died about 1736.

The foregoing may very properly be supplemented with the following from the pen of a prominent present-day lawyer residing in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:*

"David Paul Brown in his 'Forum' describes a portrait of Hamilton as follows: The only portrait we have, near this date, which represents the costume of the bar, is a very good one of Andrew Hamilton, done no doubt in England; he is dressed in a long flowing wig, a scarlet coat, frilled bosom and *bands*, precisely like those worn by some denominations of clergymen in our time.

"His biographer states that traces of his employment are found in the courts of several of the colonies, and that his opinion was often sought for by different provincial governors. While at home he probably had a part in every important case. Hamilton's fame, however, chiefly rests upon his defense of Zenger, publisher of the 'New York Weekly Journal,' who was prosecuted in 1735 upon an information filed by the Attorney General of New York, charging him with printing and publishing certain false, scandalous and seditious libels in his paper against the Colonial authorities. Two of the most prominent lawyers at the New York Bar were retained for Zenger, but upon their filing exceptions to the commissions of the judges before whom Zenger was being prosecuted, they found themselves promptly disbarred for contempt, whereupon the popular

*"Courts and Lawyers of Pennsylvania," by Frank M. Eastman; four vols.; The American Historical Society, Inc., New York; now in press.

party in New York retained Hamilton to assist other counsel appointed by the court to represent the defendant.

"We have already seen, in the case of *Proprietor vs. Governor Keith, et al.*, tried in the Philadelphia quarter sessions in December, 1692, that it was held that in a suit for sedition or libel, evidence of the truth of the seditious or libelous statements might be offered and submitted, and the jury left to decide whether or not the statements were seditious or libelous. This was the first time that the law had ever been so held, and in fact, the ruling was contrary to law as it then existed. At the Zenger trial, Hamilton was not permitted to offer any evidence as to the truth of the facts alleged in the publications complained of, but he appealed to the jury as witnesses to the truth of the facts involved, and by a brilliant effort secured the acquittal of his client, for which he received the public thanks of the corporation of the City of New York, and the freedom of the city enclosed in a gold snuff box.

"The proceedings in the case were printed in New York, Boston and London, and excited general interest. Of his argument in this case Horace Binney says: 'He merely claimed to liberate the jury from the authority of some disagreeable law and of an obnoxious court holding its appointment from the crown. No lawyer can read that argument without perceiving, that, while it was a spirited and vigorous, though rather overbearing harangue which carried the jury away from the instruction of the court, and from the established law of both the colony and the mother country, he argued elaborately what was not law any where with the same confidence as he did the better points of his case. It is, however, worth remembering, and to his honour, that he was half a century before Mr. Erskine, and the declaratory act of Mr. Fox, in asserting the right of a jury to give a general verdict in libel as much as in murder, and in spite of the court, the jury believed him and acquitted his client.' "

Largely in character with his narrative concerning Andrew Hamilton, is Dr. Jordan's history of the Bradford family, and from which the following is condensed:

William Bradford, the first printer in the province of Pennsylvania, was the son of William and Anne Bradford, of Leicestershire, England. He served an apprenticeship with Andrew Sowle, a printer and publisher of Friends' books, and learned the art and trade of a printer and publisher. He came to Pennsylvania supposedly with Penn, in the *Welcome*, in 1682; he was certainly living in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, September 12, 1683. How long he remained in the Quaker Colony before he returned to England does not appear, but he was in London in August, 1685, when he re-

ceived a letter from George Fox recommending him to prominent Friends in America as a "sober Young Man who comes to Pennsylvania to set up the trade of printing Friends' Books." During this visit to London he married Elizabeth Sowle, daughter of his master and preceptor, and she accompanied him to Pennsylvania. They settled in Oxford township, Philadelphia county, and were members of the old Oxford Meeting, which merged into a Baptist Meeting in 1693, practically all of its members being followers of George Keith in his schism of 1692.

Just where William Bradford set up his printing press does not seem to have been definitely determined, but that it was not in Philadelphia seems clear. When he published "Bunyeat's Epistle" in 1686, it bore on its title page this inscription: "Printed and Sold by William Bradford, *near* Philadelphia." Becoming involved in the Keithian controversy through publishing some of Keith's virulent papers and pamphlets against the Quakers, he became obnoxious to some of the leading people of the colony, and was arrested and tried for publishing seditious writings, but was not convicted. His usefulness and prosperity in the Quaker Colony was, however, at an end for a time, and in 1693 he removed to New York City, where he was made Royal Printer, April 10, 1693, the first product of his press being a circular letter from Governor Benjamin Fletcher, dated June that year, and printed in Dutch and English. He continued as public printer for the Province of New York for over half a century, but did not abandon the same field in Philadelphia, as in 1712 he sent his son Andrew to that city to establish the printing business there.

William Bradford started the "New York Gazette," the first newspaper to be published in that city, October 16, 1725, nearly six years after his son Andrew had started the "American Weekly Mercury" in Philadelphia, and continued to edit it until 1743. He died May 23, 1752, and was buried in Trinity Churchyard, where his ancient tombstone bears this inscription:

Here lies the body of
MR. WILLIAM BRADFORD

Printer; who departed this life May 23, 1752, aged 92 Yeares; He was born in Leicestershire, in Old England, in 1663, and came over to America in 1682, before the city of Philadelphia was laid out. He was Printer to this Government for upwards of 50 Yeares, and

The Excellent Priviledge of
LIBERTY & PROPERTY
BEING THE
BIRTH - RIGHT
Of the Free-born Subjects of *England*.
CONTAINING

- I. *Magna Charta*, with a learned Comment upon it.
- II. The Confirmation of the Charters of the Liberties of *England* and of the Forrest, made in the 35th year of *Edward* the First
- III. A Statute made the 34 *Edw. 1.* commonly called *De Tallagio non Concedendo*; wherein all Fundamental Laws, Liberties and Customs are confirmed. With a Comment upon it.
- IV. An abstract of the Pattent granted by the King to *William Penn* and his Heirs and Assigns for the Province of *Pennsylvania*.
- V. And *Lastly*, The Charter of Liberties granted by the said *William Penn* to the Free-men and Inhabitants of the Province of *Pennsylvania* and Territories thereunto annexed, In *America*.

*Major Hereditas venit unicuique; nostrum a
Jure & Legibus, quam a Parentibus.*

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being quite worn out with Old Age and Honour, he left this Mortal state in lively hopes of a blessed immortality.

Reader, reflect how too you'll quit this stage.

You'll find but few attain to such an age.

Life's full of Pain; Lo, there's a Place of Rest,

Prepare to meet your GOD, then you are blest.

Near by is also the tombstone of his wife Elizabeth, who died June 8, 1731, at the age of sixty-eight years. Her father, Andrew Sowle, with whom William Bradford learned his trade, was a printer and publisher in the time of Cromwell, and was later an intimate friend and a first purchaser of William Penn, and witnessed the Charter of Liberties for Pennsylvania, signed April 15, 1682.

Andrew, son of William Bradford, born in Philadelphia, 1686, was reared in New York, learned the printer's trade with his father, and entered into partnership with him in 1711. In 1712 he returned to Philadelphia, and December 21, 1719, issued the first number of the "American Weekly Mercury," which was the second newspaper founded in the colonies, and published it until his death, November 24, 1742. His son, William Bradford, Jr., learned the printer's trade with his father, but owing to poor health abandoned it and took to seafaring and mercantile life.

William Bradford (3rd), son of William Bradford, Jr., by his wife, Sytje Santvoort, was born in New York City, January 19, 1721-22. After a preliminary education there, he was sent by his parents to Philadelphia to learn the printing business with his uncle, Andrew Bradford, and at the close of his apprenticeship, though still a minor, was admitted to partnership with him in the printing and publishing business. In 1739-40 the firm published a number of books and pamphlets, some of which are still in existence, bearing on their title page the inscription, "Printed and sold by Andrew and William Bradford, at the Sign of The Bible, in Second Street, Philadelphia." The partnership lasted but little over a year, and at its dissolution William Bradford went to England to visit influential and prosperous relatives there, with whom his family had been in constant and cordial correspondence since the coming of his grandparents in 1685, and to select materials and outfit for establishing himself in the printing and publishing business in Philadelphia.

Upper Dublin, Philadelphia county, was doubtless the site of the pioneer printing establishment of William Bradford in Penn-

sylvania from 1685 to 1693. In addition to the publishing and selling of books, he contemplated establishing a newspaper on his return to Philadelphia. He was able to secure correspondents for his prospective newspaper who were in a position to furnish him with the latest news in reference to trade and on the all-absorbing topics of the latest acts of Parliament in reference to the Colonies, and the attitude of public men on the proposed legislation in reference to them. His wisdom and foresight in this particular were destined to make his newspaper much more popular to the public than Dr. Franklin's "Pennsylvania Gazette," and its founding marked a new era in newspaper publishing in the New World.

He returned to Philadelphia from England in 1742 with a supply of books, probably the largest of any bookseller in the middle colonies, and requisites for a well equipped printing office. In the "Pennsylvania Gazette" of July 8, 1742, he announced that he had "set up his new printing office in the house in which Andrew Bradford formerly lived on Second street, where printing was to be done at reasonable rates; and that he purposed to publish shortly a Weekly Newspaper entitled the 'Weekly Advertiser, or Pennsylvania Journal,' that may contain the most material as well as authentic news, foreign and domestic, correspondences being provided to carry on the same. In which paper gentlemen may have extracts of their letters published, containing matter to be communicated to the public. He further proposes a more exact way for country subscribers to have their papers than has heretofore been put in practice." The house alluded to was on the west side of Second street, between Chestnut and Market. It bore the hereditary sign of "The Bible," as did his second location in 1743 in the same block, at the corner of Black Horse alley, where was located his book store and printing office, and where the "Pennsylvania Journal" was issued for eleven years. His catalogue of books for the year 1742, "Sold by William Bradford at the Sign of The Bible, on Second street," was quite extensive, and consisted principally of books of a religious nature, that being an epoch of religious awakenings, the days of the Wesleys, Whitefield and Zinzendorf, all of whom had been in this country shortly before that time. He published several books during the years 1742-43, also of a religious nature, two of them by eminent Pennsylvania divines—Reverends Samuel Finley and Samuel Blair.

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The first number of William Bradford's newspaper, "The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser," was issued December 2, 1742, and though the "Pennsylvania Gazette" had been published by Dr. Franklin for thirteen years, "The Journal" marked a new era in American journalism by widening the scope beyond the mere publication of the news, to at least a mild discussion of questions of the day, in the form of correspondence, which was soon followed by a wider and freer discussion of questions of politics, religion and science. It has been said of the "Pennsylvania Journal" that "it was one of the best printed, best edited, and most widely circulated papers of the century in this country."

In 1744, Mr. Bradford published a book which established his reputation as one of the best printers in the Colonies. It was entitled: "Twenty-three Sermons upon The Chief End of Man, the Divine Authority of the Sacred Scriptures, the Being and Attributes of God, and the Doctrines of the Divinity. Preached at Philadelphia Ann. Dom. 1742 by Gilbert Tennent, A. M."

Early in the same year Mr. Bradford was appointed "Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty for the Province of New Jersey." In that and the succeeding year he did a large amount of profitable work under this appointment, in the printing of the proceedings of the Assembly, Governors' Proclamations, Treaties with the Indians, etc.; and it incidentally brought him a large number of orders from the officers of the Province and others for books and stationery. In 1754 his establishment was again moved, this time to the southwest corner of Front and Market streets.

In addition to conducting his newspaper, his book store and publishing business, in 1757 he began the publication of a monthly magazine under the title of "The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies," one of the earliest literary and philosophical journals of the country. The first number was issued in October, 1757, and it received excellent support from the best people of the country. George Washington was a subscriber for four copies. Its editor is supposed to have been Dr. William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, though his name did not appear as such; and Dr. Smith getting into trouble with the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1758, is ascribed as the reason for the suspension of the publication of the magazine after it had completed one vol-

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ume, in September, 1758, though it proved both popular and profitable.

William Bradford died September 25, 1791, and was interred beside his wife (Rachel, daughter of Thomas Budd), in the Second Presbyterian Churchyard, on Arch street, Philadelphia. The inscription on his tombstone is as follows:

In Memory of
COLONEL WILLIAM BRADFORD
Who died September 25, 1791,
Aged 72 years.
He was born in New York
And came to this city at an early age
Where he established a press
And published a newspaper as early as 1742.
He was among the first
To oppose the British Stamp Act in this City
And though
At an age which exempted him from Military Service
He endured a Winter's Campaign
And was at the Battles of Trenton and Princeton
In the last of which he was Colonel of his Regiment.
He was at Fort Mifflin
When it was attacked by the British
And throughout the whole war maintained the
Character of a Brave Man and Firm Patriot.

For want of space, it is impossible to reproduce Dr. Jordan's elaborate genealogical narratives, or his vivid portrayal of William Bradford's political and military activities, but the following may be added:

"To no man in the Colonies was America more indebted for the repeal of the Stamp Act than to Colonel William Bradford. The influence of his 'Pennsylvania Journal' throughout the Colonies at that day was great, and in Philadelphia his ardor, perseverance and efficiency inspired and supported opposition in every rank. . . . He was an early advocate of the Union of the Colonies, placing at the head of 'The Journal' the figure of a snake cut into thirteen pieces and labeled with the inscription 'Unite or Die.' "

The Missouri Centennial

COMPILED BY FENWICK Y. HEDLEY, NEW YORK CITY



AUGUST 10th of the present year marked the Centennial Anniversary of the Admission of Missouri as a State of the American Union. Its history during that and the immediately preceding period would challenge the capabilities of the most astute historian and the most gifted poet.

In tracing the origin and development of the State, it is a pleasant task to recall its then unseen beginnings in the opening up of the Mississippi river by Europeans and the events which followed in rapid succession—events containing within themselves the seeds of tremendous results affecting all Europe, and conspiring in an immeasurably large way to the building up of our own American Republic. In all, romance intermingles with kingcraft and diplomacy, and ever and anon comes upon the stage some master character whose achievements lend force to the famous old phrase that “at the bottom of every great event is the life of a man.” The history of Missouri begins with such a one.

Than Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, there was no more brilliant adventurer in that day so prolific of such characters. He came of a good family. Born in Rouen, France, in 1643, in early life he connected himself with the Jesuits, and by the act was deprived of his patrimony. Leaving the order, not on that account but for sake of adventure, at the age of twenty-three he went to Canada, where he obtained a grant of land, and founded the village of Lachine, at the famous rapids of that name. Governor Frontenac became his friend, and procured for him privileges under the French Court, and which enabled him to engage in the fur trade on a large scale, but this occupation was too ignoble for his great nature. Conceiving a great scheme of explorations westward, perhaps to China, he obtained governmental authority, and took into company with himself the Italian Henri de Tonti. They outfitted a little fleet at Rochelle, France, whence they sailed in the summer of 1638, with thirty sailors and mechanics. After establishing a trading post at the

mouth of the Niagara river, La Salle and Tonti sailed through the lakes to Green Bay, now in Wisconsin, thence to the St. Joseph river, now in Michigan, thence to the Kankakee, and in 1680 established a trading post where now stands the city of Peoria, Illinois.

Omitting mention of various of La Salle's expeditions, we note his leaving the Michigan region with a small party in December of 1681. Reaching the Chicago river, he went on to the Illinois, then reaching the Mississippi, which he named River Colbert, in honor of his great French patron, and descended to its mouth. Joined by de Tonti, who had explored the great middle channel of the Mississippi delta, the assembled companies listened reverently to La Salle as he proclaimed the whole Valley of the Mississippi and its tributary regions, a part of the French dominions under the name of Louisiana, in honor of their king. Then they reared a cross and a column, the latter bearing the arms of France and the inscription "Louis the Great, King of France and Navarre, April 9, 1682," and at the foot buried a lead plate inscribed with a similar record. The next year La Salle went to France, and received a patent granting to him all the vast territory from the present State of Illinois to Mexico, and indefinitely westward, and was commissioned commandant or governor. In August, 1684, he began his return voyage, with four ships carrying two hundred and eighty people to inaugurate settlements. Dissensions broke out, and the immigrants landed near Matagorda Bay. Early in 1688, La Salle set out for the Illinois country, with a party of fifteen people, among whom were his brother and two nephews. On Trinity river, in the present State of Texas, a revolt broke out, in which one of La Salle's nephews was killed, and a few minutes afterward La Salle himself was similarly disposed of. Such was the fate of the great explorer whose vast domain was soon to pass away forever into the hands of an alien people who were to erect upon its unpopulated wilds sixteen Sovereign States of the present American Union.

Following the death of La Salle and the extinguishment of his colonization scheme, French interest in its new possessions seemed to lag. In 1698 came into the Gulf of Mexico, Pierre le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, in command of two frigates, with two hundred colonists. He figures as "the founder of Louisiana," but his labors were few. He built a fort at what is now Biloxi, Mississippi, and this is accounted the first settlement in Louisiana. By 1702 there were

similar settlements on Dauphin Island, near the entrance to Mobile Bay, and elsewhere—five in all, but their combined populations did not exceed four hundred.

By 1712 the French government had determined upon real and permanent settlement of the Louisiana region, and on September 14 of that year Louis XIV. granted to Anthony Crozat, a wealthy French merchant, "all the country drained by the waters emptying, directly or indirectly, into the Mississippi river." Crozat established trading-houses on the site of Montgomery, on the Alabama river; at Natchitoches, on the Red river; and at Natchez, in what is now the State of Mississippi. Crozat made heroic efforts, but after five years of large outlays and small returns, he resigned his patent, the "Mississippi Company" under the notorious John Law succeeding to his rights and privileges under the French governmental patronage. Law introduced a few thousand whites to settle in Louisiana proper, and about fifteen hundred Germans in Arkansas; but he also brought the first slaves into that region, imported from Santo Domingo and others of the West Indies islands. In 1732 the Mississippi Company resigned the country to the French crown. In 1762 the French king ceded the territory to the King of Spain. When Bonaparte became First Consul and actual ruler of France, he determined upon the re-establishment of the Louisiana Empire under French auspices, and in 1800 he procured the retrocession of Louisiana, and the region was in French possession and under French authority until 1803, when it passed into the ownership of the United States by purchase. It then contained a population of 85,000 whites and 40,000 negro slaves. The price paid was \$15,000,000.

The American flag was formally raised in the city of New Orleans on December 20th, 1803. A division now took place into the Territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana. The former entered the American Union as the State of Louisiana on April 8th, 1812, and here this paper leaves it. On June 4 following, the District of Louisiana became the District of Missouri, and became attached to the Territory of Indiana for governmental purposes. It then comprised what is now the State of Arkansas, and all the region northward and laying in the "Louisiana Purchase" Tract.

What is now substantially the State of Missouri first comes into notice in 1720, when the discovery of lead drew to it a multitude

of adventurers. In 1755 its first town was founded, Ste. Genevieve, on the Mississippi river, with a population of less than five hundred. About the same time, St. Louis figures as a fur-trading post, with about eight hundred inhabitants.¹ On July 5th, 1778, George Rogers Clark, acting under the authority of Governor Patrick Henry, of Virginia, attacked and captured from the British the village of Kaskaskia, on the river of that name, within five miles of the Mississippi, and thus saved St. Louis from capture.² In 1812, when Louisiana became a State, the population of what is now Missouri was about 22,000. In 1817 the numbers had increased to 60,000, and admission to the American Union was sought, but owing to political conditions, an incident of which was the famous "Missouri Compromise," such admission was not effected until August 10, 1821.

Such an historical synopsis as the foregoing may be found in fairly connected form in very few volumes, if indeed in any that is readily accessible to the ordinary reader. But with all this information, the real history is meager for want of that which gives to the reader a vivid appreciation of the actors in a remote past, of their surroundings, of their fellows: With such particulars, historians seldom deal. We know of none to compare with Macaulay in those chapters of his "History of England" in which he depicts the everyday life of everyday people during the period of the Commonwealth and the Restoration. Usually we need to turn to fiction such as Sir Walter Scott's volumes dealing with Scottish history;³ or to Thackeray's monumental "Henry Esmond" and "The Virginians;" and in our own day to "The Crisis" of Churchill.

In comparatively recent years such want of knowledge as is above complained of, has been well supplied through the agency of a considerable number of State and other historical magazines which have delved into ancient records, family letters, personal diaries, tavern blotters, etc., and afforded to the reading public information that

¹St. Louis, and particularly Ste. Genevieve, to this day bear evidences of their French origin, many of the original French family names being preserved in descendants from the original emigrants. The writer of this narrative knows of such dating as far back as 1852, with whom he was then familiarly acquainted.

²Kaskaskia is in Illinois, which was then known as Illinois County of Virginia, or the Illinois Country.

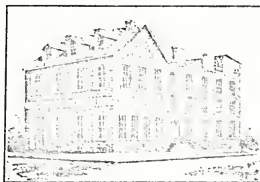
³The compiler of this paper has noted with surprise that amid the hundreds of critical papers and notes which went into print during the recent Scott Anniversary, he did not observe a single reference to "The Fortunes of Nigel," a most illuminating picture of the times in which the Scottish James, son of Mary Queen of Scots, came to the English throne.



MANSION HOUSE HOTEL

Where First Constitutional Convention of
Missouri Met

Courtesy of Hon. Cornelius Roach



MISSOURI HOTEL

Where First State Legislature of
Missouri Met

Courtesy of Hon. Cornelius Roach

otherwise would have never come to the light. A most notable publication of this character is "The Missouri Historical Review" for January of the present year, a centennial number commemorative of the hundredth anniversary of the Admission of Missouri as a State of the American Union, and compiled by Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, who presents his work with the following pregnant foreword:

"In the Missouri tavern the pioneer settler and the wandering stranger were first welcomed to our soil. In this early wayside inn business was transacted, religion preached, duels decided, politics discussed and frequently settled, towns founded, courts convened, and hospitality dispensed. It served as home and mart, court and forum. An institution which flourished in Missouri a century past, its romance is still preserved in story and legend. The Missouri tavern is almost extinct. Conditions produced it that will never return. It was the product of a pioneer community, peopled by an honest, fearless, hospitable folk. Ratiocination was stranger to its walls, but common sense, wit and logic there found place. The author of 'The Missouri Tavern' has drawn aside the curtain of history and permitted us to share bread and board with our forefathers who made possible our heritage and who founded a 'free and independent republic, by the name of 'The State of Missouri.' "

The foregoing extract has reference to the leading article in "The Review," entitled "The Missouri Tavern," from the pen of Mr. Walter B. Stevens, of nationwide fame as author and journalist, and the best authority of the present day on Missouri history.⁴ In what follows we draw freely upon Mr. Stevens' paper, but necessarily delete much on account of want of space; hence the reader will understand that lack of connection in certain instances is not the fault of the author quoted, but due to the necessity of the occasion. Mr. Stevens says:

It is told of the wife of the first Missouri editor that no one in need of food or shelter was turned away from her door. Mrs. Sarah Charless lived to be eighty-one years of age. Her home was in Missouri more than half a century. St. Louis was notably lacking in taverns when Joseph Charless came to start the first newspaper

⁴Other most valuable papers in "The Review" are "A Century of Missouri Agriculture," by F. B. Mumford, dean of the College of Agriculture of the University of Missouri; "A Century of Education in Missouri," by C. A. Phillips, dean of the Central Missouri State Teachers' College, and head of the Department of Education; "A Century of Missouri Politics," by C. H. McClure, head of the Central Missouri State Teachers' College; and "One Hundred Years of Banking in Missouri," by Breckenridge Jones, a well skilled financier.

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west of the Mississippi. Strangers, whose credentials or appearances justified, were made welcome at private houses not only in St. Louis but in the home of Missouri pioneers generally. Thus, a hundred years ago, was begotten that spirit of hospitality which became a marked characteristic of the Missourian and which gave the Missouri tavern distinction. The trait was a natural evolution of two influential elements in the pioneer population—the French who were the first families of Missouri, and the Virginians and Kentuckians who came in great numbers with the dawn of Statehood.

To accommodate newcomers Mr. and Mrs. Charless opened their house, which was a large one on Fifth and Market streets, St. Louis. A sign swung from a post; it bore the announcement "Entertainment by Joseph Charless." With the house was a large garden, one of the finest in St. Louis, occupying half of the block bounded by Fifth, Market, Fourth and Walnut streets. Therein fruit and vegetables were grown for a table which became famous. In a card, Mr. Charless told through the "Missouri Gazette" that at his house strangers "will find every accommodation but whiskey." Mrs. Charless was one of seven women who, with two men, organized the first Presbyterian church in Missouri.

Twelve years Joseph Charless edited and published that first Missouri newspaper. At the top of the title page he printed in black type his slogan:—"Truth without Fear." And he lived up to it, defying Benton, carrying a big stick and dodging bullets. Then he retired from journalism and devoted himself to the tavern with his announcement as above.

The Missouri tavern was of its own class. Identified with the vocation of tavernkeeping in Missouri's pioneer days are the names of some of the best known and most highly esteemed families in the State's history. Taverns were established for "accommodation" in the true sense of the word. Immigration came in successive high tides. In not a few cases, homes were opened as a matter of private "accommodation" which led to public "entertainment,"—as in the case of the Charless family. About the wide fireplace the host and his family visited with the travelers. They listened to the latest news from the outside world and they gave the desired information about local conditions and advantages for settlement. Court sessions were held in the taverns. Counties and towns were organized and political caucuses were held in Missouri taverns. In brief, the Missouri tavern was the center of public life during those pioneer decades. In no other State does it appear from somewhat cursory investigation that the tavern filled such an important part in early history.

In a tavern, Missouri, the State, was born. The first legislature met in that hotel. The first governor, McNair, and the first lieutenant-governor, Ashley, were inaugurated there. The first United

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States Senators, Barton and Benton, were elected there. In accordance with the fitness of things, that tavern was called the Missouri. Begun in 1817 and finished two years later, the Missouri Hotel was ready just in time for its place in the history of the State's making. Major Biddle became the owner. He went east and obtained the best landlord he could find and induce to come west. The Missouri was opened with equipment and appointments which made it for more than a generation the pride of the Mississippi Valley.

The Missouri Hotel was the scene of banquets and balls. There his admiring fellow citizens entertained Barton with a grand dinner when he came back from Washington after a speech which made him the great Missourian of that day. Benton was "second fiddle." St. Patrick's days were celebrated at the Missouri, for newcomers from Ireland were among the foremost and most enterprising business men of St. Louis in that generation. Expeditions were planned at the Missouri. Principals and seconds met there to arrange meetings on Bloody Island. General William Henry Harrison, afterwards president, General Zachary Taylor, afterwards president, and General Winfield Scott, who wanted to be but was not president, were entertained at the Missouri hotel.

The oddest tavern in Missouri was not built with hands. It was a cave, forty feet wide and twenty feet high, in St. Charles county. Boatmen steered their pirogues and long-horns to the bank and took shelter in that cave from the driving storms on the Missouri. They called it "The Tavern." On the walls, in those days, were to be seen the rudely carved names of many who had found refuge there and who had registered. Drawings and carvings of birds and beasts, said to have been done by the Indians, were the mural decorations of this nature tavern. A stream of considerable size empties into the Missouri near this cave, and at the present day is known as Tavern creek.

To Van Bibber's tavern at Loutre Lick came Colonel David Craig when he immigrated to Missouri in 1817. When Long's expedition was on the way up the Missouri one hundred years ago to discover and map "The Great American Desert" as it appeared in the geographies for two generations, a stop was made at Van Bibber's.

Van Bibber married a granddaughter of Daniel Boone. He had two sprightly daughters, Fanny and Matilda. His first tavern was of logs, and as business developed Van Bibber added other cabins. Loutre Lick became the first Missouri spa. The earliest settlers went there for bodily ailments which were relieved by the waters. Later Loutre Lick became a widely known health resort. Benton visited there and told in Washington of the beneficial results. He advertised Loutre Lick so enthusiastically that Henry Clay referred in a speech to the Missouri senator's "Bethesda." Washington Irving, with his traveling companions, the Swiss count, M.

de Portales, and the Englishman Latrobe, stopped at Loutre Lick. He was so pleased with the surroundings that he told Van Bibber "When I get rich I am coming here to buy this place and build a nice residence here." But Irving spent so much time abroad that he never carried out his impulse to become a Missourian.

A power to be reckoned with along the Missouri-Kansas border in the fifties was Uncle John, who kept the Mimms Hotel in Kansas City. Red Legs and Border Ruffians, Jayhawkers and slave drivers, stopped with Uncle John. They were entertained impartially, and, strange to tell, the peace was preserved among these warring elements so long as they remained his guests at the Mimms Hotel. Uncle John was an ordained minister of the Missionary Baptist church. He was from Kentucky, a fearless man, a character of that peculiar reserved force which made other men feel peaceful in his presence.

In the First General Assembly of Missouri there was a man who called himself "Ringtail Painter." His name was Palmer, and his cabin home was in the Grand River valley. While the first legislature was holding its sessions in the hotel, Palmer insisted on occupying the same bed with Governor McNair for one night so that, as he said, he could go back and tell his friends of Fishing river that he had "slept with the Governor of Missouri."

This first meeting of the legislature in the hotel was enlivened by one of the most unparliamentary scenes in the legislative history of Missouri. During a sitting of the senate, Duff Green and Andrew McGirk became involved in a hot argument. McGirk threw a pewter inkstand at Green. The two men started a fist fight. Governor McNair came forward to interfere. He caught hold of Green and was pulling him away when Palmer grabbed the governor and shouted: "Stand back governor; you are no more in a fight than any other man. I know that much law. I am at home in this business. Give it to him, Duff. Give it to him."

Thomas H. Benton owed his first election to the Senate to tavern environment. His friends had been able to muster only a tie vote against the opposition. And one of Benton's votes was that of Daniel Ralls, who lay in the last stages of fatal illness. Benton's friends won over one vote from the opposition, giving the necessary majority if the dying man could be kept alive and brought in when the legislature met on Monday. The fact that the legislature was meeting in the hotel and that the dying man was in a room upstairs made the plans of Benton's friends practicable though desperate. The sick man was carried down stairs by four stout negro servants, and voted for Benton. He died shortly after being taken back to his room.

When St. Charles became the temporary capital of the new State of Missouri, the tavernkeepers made good their reputation for

square dealing by furnishing the members of the General Assembly board at \$2.50 a week. At that time pork was a cent and a half a pound; venison hams, twenty-five cents each; eggs, five cents a dozen; honey, five cents a gallon; but coffee cost a dollar a pound.

In the "Gazette" of November 15, 1817, appeared this "Notice" over the name of Benjamin Emmons: "The subscriber gives information that he keeps public entertainment at the village of St. Charles, in the house lately occupied for that purpose by N. Simonds, Esq., where the hungry and thirsty can be accommodated and the weary find rest."

The popularity which Mr. Emmons achieved was well shown later in 1820, when his fellow citizens elected him a member of the convention which framed the first constitution of the State of Missouri. The selection of Mr. Emmons was the more notable in that he was the only delegate elected who favored some degree of restriction on slavery in the new State. Mr. Emmons had been president of the last territorial legislative council. Later, after the organization of the State government, he was a member of the State senate, and notable for his independence of opinion. Descendants of this Benjamin Emmons have been in every one of the wars in which the United States has been engaged. Two of them, Charles Shepard Emmons and Wallis K. Emmons, were in the World War, serving in France.

Duden, whose marvelous letters set Germany afire for migration to Missouri, told that on the south bank of the Missouri, opposite St. Charles, "there lives a jolly Frenchman who manages the ferry, is postmaster and an innkeeper. His name is Chauvin; he was born in Canada. He told me that Prince Wuertemberg had spent the night with him some time ago." Duden was mistaken about the nativity of this tavern-keeper. Lafreniere J. Chauvin was a native of St. Louis. He bore the name of the leader of the first revolution for freedom on American soil, the revolt against Spanish domination at New Orleans. The Chauvins came from France to New Orleans and thence to Ste. Genevieve and later were among the first families of St. Louis. Lafreniere J. Chauvin was of the second or third generation. He was born in St. Louis in 1794. A daughter of this Chauvin was the wife of one of the Emmons family of St. Charles.

Charles Joseph Latrobe, an Englishman who accompanied Washington Irving in his travels through Missouri and who wrote the "Rambler in North America," told of the party stopping at the tavern opposite St. Charles, "where we found shelter for the night in a little French inn, which, with its odd, diminutive bowling green, skittle ground, garden plots, and arbors, reminded us more of the Old World than anything we had seen for many weeks."

Judge Quarles, an uncle of Mark Twain, kept tavern in Paris. A

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guest came to the landlord with the request for a clean towel in the common washroom. "Sir," said the judge, with some show of reproof, "two hundred men have wiped on that towel and you are the first to complain."

An impressive structure for its generation was the Buchanan tavern in Florida. It was of brick and equipped on a scale of cost which befitted a community with strong hopes of being the county seat of one of the rich counties of Missouri. The time came when Florida and Paris engaged in a county seat contest, one of the most exciting in the history of the State. A compromise settlement was offered. It was proposed to make two counties out of Monroe, with Paris and Florida as county seats. One of the Florida boomers was John Marshall Clemens, father of Mark Twain. The compromise was defeated. Major Howell and Dr. Flannigan were members of the legislature and both favorable to Paris. They got through the act cutting off a slice of Monroe county and adding it to Shelby. This reduced Monroe to the extent that it spoiled the argument for two counties. It also made Paris the more natural location for the county seat. This was a great victory for Paris, but the people who were moved into Shelby long insisted that they belonged in Monroe.

Housing the members of the General Assembly for the first session held in Jefferson City was a problem. The new capitol was ready before the taverns were. John R. Musick, in his "Stories of Missouri," says that one man hung out his sign to entertain when all that he had, apparently, was a board structure with office in front and dining room and kitchen in the rear. There was no floor. A legislator applied for board and lodging. "Certainly," said the affable tavern-keeper. "That is what I am here for. Plenty of good rooms and beds. I will give you Number 15." After supper the legislator said he would go to bed. The landlord picked up a candle, led the way outdoors and around back of the wooden building where there were several tents. In front of one of the tents was a piece of board stuck in the ground and painted "Number 15." Inside of the tent was a cot.

Morgan B. White was sent by Callaway county to the legislature in the thirties. He found lodgings in the house of a widow, who assigned him a bed with four high posts and heavy damask curtains. When it came time to go to bed, Uncle Morgan said he could not imagine how he was to get in. He had never seen that kind of a bed and he didn't want to ask questions. So he pulled a table and chair to the side of the bed, climbed over the top of the curtains. Instead of stopping when he reached the feathers, he went through and struck the floor.

The combination of tavern keeping and preaching was not uncommon. Rev. Andrew Monroe at one time kept a tavern near what

is now Danville. This was the place where another preacher, a tenderfoot in Missonri, acquired the name of "Gourdhead" Prescott. He stopped at the tavern for dinner. There being no one else to take care of his horse, the minister went out to the barn. There he found a heap of gourds, common in Missouri in that day. The minister mistook the gourds for a new kind of pumpkin, and gave a mess to the horse. Thereafter he was known as "Gourdhead" Prescott.

Rev. Andrew Monroe was one of the first prohibitionists in Missouri. The governor of the State was a guest at the Monroe tavern and called for a stimulant. Waiving his own scruples out of consideration for his distinguished visitor, Preacher Monroe sent to the store for a bottle of whiskey. And thereby he created a precedent which conflicted with his strict enforcement of church rules. Sometime afterwards, Preacher Monroe met David Dryden carrying a jug. Dryden had settled in Montgomery county recently. He was a steward in the Methodist church. He had built a mill, a horse mill, an industry much needed. Altogether he was a man of affairs. But the parson was no respecter of persons when it came to church discipline. He eyed the suspicious looking package and asked: "Well, Brother Dryden, what is that you have in your jug?" To Dryden came in a flash the recollection of what he had heard of Tavern-keeper Monroe's experience with the governor. "It's some whiskey I have just purchased for the governor, who is at my house." The preacher smiled and passed on.

When Lafayette was entertained in St. Louis he was astonished to see approaching him an old man in the full uniform worn by the French at the surrender of Yorktown. He was delighted when the old soldier saluted stiffly but correctly. He was moved deeply when Alexander Bellissime identified himself as a native of Toulon who had come over with Lafayette's forces to fight for American independence. After the War of the Revolution, Bellissime had settled in St. Louis and was conducting a tavern which was the popular resort of the river men. He was known to everybody as "Old Alexie." His tavern was on Second street near Myrtle, in the French section. After Lafayette's departure, the veteran, who had been embraced publicly by his old commander, was in higher esteem than ever. He lived to be eighty-seven. On the red letter days of St. Louis "Old Alexie" did not fail to appear in that well preserved uniform and the three-cornered cockaded hat. When "Old Alexie" died, Captain Easton turned out the crack military company, the St. Louis Grays, and gave the veteran what would have been his heart's desire—a military funeral.

Audubon, the world-famed naturalist, in his travels about Missouri in the early forties, was impressed with the abundance of natural food supplies, and with the cheapness of things eatable.

He wrote to James Hall: "The markets here abound in all the good things of the land and of nature's creation. To give you an idea of this, read the following items: Grouse, two for a York shilling; three chickens for the same; turkeys, wild or tame, twenty-five cents; flour, two dollars a barrel; butter, six pence for the best; fresh and really good beef, three to four cents; veal, the same; pork, two cents; venison hams, large and dried, fifteen cents each; potatoes, ten cents a bushel; ducks, three for a shilling; wild geese, ten cents each; canvasback ducks, a shilling a pair; vegetables for the asking as it were."

In a land of such plenty, Audubon felt that the tavern rates were altogether too high. He complained: "And only think, in the midst of this abundance and cheapness, we are paying nine dollars a week at our hotel, the Glasgow; and at the Planters' we were asked ten dollars. We are at the Glasgow hotel, and will leave the day after tomorrow, as it is too good for our purses."

Criticism of the management of those pioneer hotels was attended with some risk. John Graves kept the first tavern in Chillicothe. He started "the tavern house" as he called it, so early in the history of the community that many consider him the founder of the city. Graves did the best he knew how, and he thought that was good enough. One day a commercial traveler grumbled about the cooking. Graves caught the critic by the collar, jerked him out of his chair at the table and kicked him out the front door. "The blamed skunk," he said, "insulted my boarders and I won't stand for it. My boarders eat my fare and like it; and when a man makes fun of my grub, it is the same as saying they haven't sense enough to know good grub from bad. I am bound to protect my boarders."

In the earliest days of the American colonies, the house of public entertainment was often known as "the ordinary." But when that term went out of use, Americans did not take kindly to the English name of "inn." "Tavern," of good full volume of vowel sound, was adopted, and it was applied almost universally in Missouri, outside of the principal centers of population, as settlement spread. When a Missouri community reached the metropolitan class, "tavern" gradually gave place to "hotel" or "house." But tavern continued to be the popular term along the rivers and the stagecoach routes.

Upon a Missouri tavern was based one of the largest of the lottery enterprises which excited the American people about the time of the Civil War. The Patee house was the name. With two acres of ground adjoining it in the city of St. Joseph, this building, owned by John Patee, was disposed of by raffle in 1863. The property, which included all of the furniture and fixtures, was valued at \$140,000. The tickets were two dollars. They bore the stipulation that \$25,000 of the receipts from the sale of tickets would "be appor-

tioned between those cities and towns in proportion to the number of tickets sold therein, the amount to be placed in the hands of the authorities for any benevolent object they may deem proper."

Missouri hotel hospitality was almost the undoing of a President of the United States. President Andrew Johnson was escorted to St. Louis, September 8, 1866, by a fleet of thirty-six steamboats which met his party at Alton. With the President were General Grant, Admiral Farragut, Secretary of State Seward and General Hancock. Andrew Johnson was the first President of the United States to visit Missouri. At the Lindell Hotel a welcoming address was made by Mayor Thomas, and hospitality was extended. President Johnson responded. The speeches were made from the portico over the main entrance on Washington avenue. A reception followed in the drawing room, with more hospitality and another speech by the President.

From the Lindell, the presidential party was taken to the Southern for more hospitality and more speechmaking. In the evening the banquet was given, with a menu that occupied half a column in the newspapers. President Johnson spoke again at considerable length. These St. Louis speeches were used by the House of Representatives in the prosecution of the important charges. L. L. Walbridge, who reported the speeches, was summoned to Washington to testify in the trial to the accuracy of the report. The speech which gave the most offense to the Republican party in Congress was the one delivered from the Walnut street front of the Southern shortly before the banquet. Stimulated by the hospitality of the day and by encouraging interruptions of the audience, the President used very bitter language referring to his controversy with Congress. It was at St. Louis that the President described his tour as "swinging round the circle."

A fine representative of the type of Missouri landlords was "Weed" Marshall, who furnished "entertainment" at Mayview for twenty-nine years. "Weed" was the familiar name by which the traveling public knew him. The proper initials were "J. W." Marshall was courteous to a punctilious degree, but it did not do to presume upon his good nature. A young traveling man left a call for three o'clock in the morning and in a rather unpleasant manner impressed the importance of it. Marshall had no night clerk and sat up to make sure the guest did not miss the train. At three o'clock to the minute he pounded on the door. A grunt was the response. "Get up;" shouted Marshall. "It's three o'clock." "I've changed my mind," growled the traveling man. "I'm going to stay and take a later train." "No, you're not," said Marshall. "Confound you. You get up and get out this minute. You can't fool me." And the young man left on his early train.

Foreigners commented upon the independent character of the

American tavernkeeper. When Lafayette made his triumphal tour of this country in 1824, his party stopped at fifty taverns. One who was of the party wrote: "We were received by the landlord with perfect civility but without the slightest shade of obsequiousness. The deportment of the innkeeper was manly, courteous, and even kind, but there was that in his air which sufficiently proved that both parties were expected to manifest the same qualities."

Lieutenant Francis Hall, an Englishman, traveling in this country in 1817, said: "The innkeepers of America are, in most villages, what we call vulgarly, topping men—field officers of military or militia, with good farms attached to their taverns, so that they are apt to think what, perhaps, in a new settled country is not far wide of the truth, that travelers rather receive than confer a favor by being accommodated at their homes. The daughters officiate at tea and breakfast, and generally wait at dinner."

James Stewart, a Scotchman, who wrote "Three Years in North America," devoting his attention to "a faithful and candid representation of the facts which the author observed and noted in the places where they presented themselves"—those were his words—said: "We arrived in St. Louis on Sunday, the 25th of April, (1830) on so cold a morning that the first request I made on reaching the City Hotel, in the upper part of the town, was for a fire, which was immediately granted. The hotel turned out a very comfortable one. It contains a great deal of accommodation. The only inconvenience I felt arose from the people not being accustomed, as seems generally the case in the western country, to place water basins and a towel in every bedroom. The system of washing at some place near the well is general, but the waiters or chambermaids never refuse to bring everything to the bedroom that is desired. It is, however, so little the practice to bring a washing apparatus to the bedrooms that they are apt to forget a general direction regularly to do so. We had a great quantity of fine poultry at this house; and the table, upon the whole, was extremely well managed."

Mellish, an English traveler, gave high praise to American taverns. He told of one place he visited where there were sixty houses, of which seven were taverns. He described the breakfast table on which there were: "tablecloth, tea tray, teapot, milkpot, bowls, cups, sugar tongs, tea spoons, castors, plates, knives, forks, tea, sugar, cream, bread, butter, steak, eggs, cheese, potatoes, beets, salt, vinegar, pepper—all for twenty-five cents."

In his "American Notes" and "Martin Chuzzlewit," Charles Dickens with his severe criticisms rasped the pride of Americans and set this country by the ears after his visit in 1842. But Mr. Dickens was well pleased with his experience at a famous Missouri hotel: "On the fourth day after leaving Louisville, we reached St. Louis. We went to a large hotel called the Planters' House,

built like an English hospital, with long passages and bare walls, and skylights above the doors for free circulation of air. There were a great many boarders in it, and as many lights sparkled and glistened from the windows down into the streets below when we drove up, as if it had been illuminated on some occasion for rejoicing. It is an excellent house and the proprietors have most bountiful notions of providing creature comforts. Dining alone with my wife in her own room one day, I counted fourteen dishes upon the table at once."

Almost contemporaneous with Missouri statehood was J. S. Halstead, of Breckenridge, who celebrated his one hundredth birthday in 1918; he had been eighty years a resident of Missouri. In his younger days he was on close relations with Henry Clay. He carried a cane presented to him by Clay, who had received it as a gift from Senator Jenifer of Maryland. The cane had a history. The Maryland senator brought it from an olive tree near the burial place of Cicero. He gave it to Mr. Clay on the occasion of the latter's speech expounding the Missouri Compromise. One day a dog attacked Clay on the street in Washington. Defending himself with his cane, Clay hit a fence and broke the cane. He tried to have it repaired but was dissatisfied with the result and passed the historic stick along to his young friend, Halstead. At the observance of his centennial, Mr. Halstead told a correspondent of the "Kansas City Star" this tavern story as he had it from Mr. Clay:

An English nobleman traveling in the United States called upon Mr. Clay. He stopped at a tavern, having with him his valet. The tavernkeeper noticed that the valet seemed to keep at a distance but did not take into consideration any difference in station. When it came to go to bed, the tavernkeeper showed milord and the valet to the same room. The nobleman protested. He said: "But I am not accustomed to being in the same room with my valet."

An historic hotel in Kansas City was known variously as the Western, the American and the Gillis. It was built by Benoit Troost in 1849, and was on the river front, between Delaware and Wyandotte streets. In two years, 1856 and 1857, there were 27,000 arrivals at the hotel, which was enlarged by additions until it was an architectural curiosity. In May, 1856, this hotel was the hiding place of Governor A. H. Reeder, of Kansas, when he was a fugitive, trying to escape from the Missourians. Friends disguised the governor as a laborer and gave him an ax to carry. In this way they got him out of the hotel and out of town. H. W. Chiles kept the hotel at that time. He was a strong pro-slavery man, and became the landlord of the Gillis house to save it from destruction. The property had been owned by the New England Emigrant Aid Society of Boston, and was intended to be operated to encourage migration of anti-slavery settlers to Kansas in order to make that a free

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State. It became known among Missourians as "The Free State Hotel." As the border troubles increased, the Emigrant Aid Society, fearing that the property would be destroyed, put it in the hands of Chiles under a lease.

Pro-slavery travelers made another historic hotel their stopping place in Kansas City. That was the Farmers' Hotel, built in 1856 and run by E. N. McGee, a leader in the pro-slavery party. "The Wayside Inn" was the first name of this tavern. The location was on Sixteenth street, between the river landing and Westport. Overland stages started from the Gillis House. The purchase of the Gillis for the Boston people was made by S. C. Pomeroy, afterwards a United States senator from Kansas. Pomeroy came out with the first party of anti-slavery immigrants from New England. The colonizing of Kansas was planned on such a scale that it seemed to the leaders in the movement necessary to have headquarters in Kansas City. This investment by the New Englanders, in 1854, had much to do with inflaming the Missourians, arousing them to the magnitude of the Boston intentions.

About the time that the New Englanders began coming in numbers to Kansas City, Thomas H. Benton and his son-in-law, John C. Frémont, arrived by boat and stopped at the hotel. They were on one of the strangest business enterprises of that period. Among those who met the visitors and discussed the project with them was Dr. Johnston Lykins. The wife of Dr. Lykins, afterwards the wife of George C. Bingham, the Missouri artist, told this:

"Benton and Fremont had arrived in order to complete arrangements for an experiment with camels as beasts of burden in crossing the plains during the hot season. Colonel Benton entered heartily into the plan and gave his assistance in every way possible. He thought that camels would stand the travel over the sandy plains better than oxen or horses. Owing to the shortness of the season in this northern latitude the project failed, although camels were imported for the purpose. Late in the evening Dr. Lykins returned to the house to inform me that he had invited the gentlemen to dine with us the following day. Colonel Benton and Mr. Frémont came, also Lieutenant Head, and the day was long to be remembered. The conversation was mainly upon the great possibilities of the West. At the conclusion of the dinner, we stepped out upon the porch, which commanded a delightful view of the river and surrounding country. Colonel Benton appeared in the height of good spirits and turning to me said: 'Mrs. Lykins, you will take a trip to California on one of the camels, won't you?'"

"'Hardly,' I replied, laughing, 'I would prefer a more comfortable mode of travel.'"

"The great statesman's face grew solemn. As if in a spirit of prophecy, he said: 'You are a very young woman, and you will live to see the day a railroad will cross the plains and mountains to the Pacific coast.'"

"'Colonel Benton,' I replied, 'with all due reverence to you as a prophet, your prediction is as visionary as a trip to the moon.'"

"'I will not live to see the prophecy verified, but the next generation will,' he responded firmly. That was the last visit of Colonel Benton to Kansas City. The party left by steamboat for St. Louis on the evening of the same day."

From the article on "A Century of Education in Missouri," by Mr. C. A. Phillips, in the same issue of "The Missouri Historical Review," is taken the following:

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The secondary schools of Missouri would be classified broadly as academies and high schools. Very early the academies were organized throughout the State. Some of these academies were chartered by the State, and others were merely corporations of various kinds. The early incorporated academies were: Jackson, chartered in 1820, in Cape Girardeau county; the St. Charles and Franklin academies, 1820; Louisiana Academy, 1822; St. Mary's, 1822; Potosi, in Washington county, 1824; Ste. Genevieve, 1824; Boonville Academy, 1825; and Fayette Academy, in Howard county, 1825. They were all organized primarily on the historical background of the English public schools. It was estimated by Dexter that there were in the State in 1850 not less than 204 of these academies and that there were enrolled in them not less than 8,000 students. There were also organized many female seminaries, some of them being opened as early as 1820. Among the earlier may be mentioned: Elizabeth Aull, at Lexington, in 1820; Lindenwood, at St. Charles, in 1830; Howard Payne, at Fayette, in 1834. Very early some military academies were organized too, or rather grafted on the form of the old time academies.

At the present time, except for certain religious organizations, the academies and seminaries of all kinds have nearly passed out of existence. From several hundred they have dropped down to a score. A number of the female seminaries are now the junior colleges of the State, of which there are at the present time sixteen; namely, Central College for Women, Christian College for Women, Cottey College for Women, Culver-Stockton College, Hardin College for Women, Howard-Payne College for Women, Kansas City Junior College, LaGrange College, Lindenwood College for Women, Marvin College, Missouri Christian College, St. Joseph Junior College, Stephens Junior College, Synodical College, the Principia, and William Woods College. There are only three surviving military academies, namely: Kemper Military, at Boonville, Missouri Military, at Mexico, and Wentworth Military, at Lexington.

The American high school is really one of the most marked contributions to the spirit of democracy. There are no European institutions which correspond to it or parallel it. It is an outgrowth of the yearnings of the common people for the higher forms of education. Moreover, it is the gateway through which the people enter into the higher professional studies in the colleges and universities. The first high school in the State was organized in the city of St. Louis in the winter of 1852-53. In fact, the school was opened the first Monday in February in 1853, with seventy pupils. These pupils were required to pass special examinations after a completion of the elementary schools, as this was not thought a definite qualification for secondary education. The second high school was opened in St. Joseph in 1866, and the third in Kansas City in 1867. However, the

high schools have no legal status in any of the constitutions of the State. They legally exist on a statutory basis at the present time, and this basis was not very firmly established until 1903, when provision was made for the State inspection of schools by the State superintendent or a deputy in connection with his office.

The development of high schools was at first very slow. In 1899 Superintendent Coleman reported twenty-seven four-year high schools, thirty-eight three-year high schools and sixty two-year high schools. The university list for 1890 included nineteen high schools and five academies, each being completely affiliated. After the university employed a visitor, the high school development was much more rapid, and since the time of State inspection and visitation the high school development has gone on with marked rapidity. At the present time there are three hundred and two first class high schools, one hundred and sixteen second class and one hundred and eighty-eight third class, making a grand total of six hundred and six fully classified high schools in the State. When you consider that there were only two hundred and three in 1908, these figures are striking, for the reason that it indicates an increase of practically two hundred per cent in about ten years. For the year ending June, 1919, there were enrolled in the high schools 60,699 pupils, and there were graduated from these schools 8,699. The eighth grade graduates this same year were 31,330, which indicates that there is something yet to be done in high schools to attract and hold all of the pupils who are graduating from the eighth grade. If such were the case the enrollment should be near 100,000 instead of 60,000.

However, the most important development about the high school has been the democratized curriculum. The early academies and high schools were for such students only as expected to attend college. At the present time, however, the modern high school curriculum in the State makes provision for practically all sorts of people—teacher-training classes for those who would begin teaching; vocational agriculture, vocational home economics, the trades, all the sciences, histories, languages and technical subjects. Indeed, a modern high school curriculum is the equivalent of the ordinary college curriculum of thirty or forty years ago, except for the language demands made by those colleges. But in science, literature and the vocational aspects of education this new American invention in the State is immeasurably the superior of the old time college.

Under higher education may be grouped the colleges, universities, and the normal schools. However, the last Legislature classified the normal schools as teachers' colleges. The earliest higher institution of learning to be organized in the State was the old St. Louis Academy, which has become St. Louis University. The beginnings of this institution were made in 1818, and the school was taken over by the Jesuits in 1827. The institution finally became St. Louis University



UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI IN 1874
From Stevens' "Missouri the Center State"



ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY IN 1858
From Stevens' "Missouri the Center State"

under charter by the State in 1832. Provision was made for the State University in the first constitution in 1820. The Geyer Act of 1839 made very definite provision for a State University to crown the public school system. The enabling act of Congress in 1820 set aside two townships of land and some other lands as the resources from which to establish a seminary in the State. However, the University itself was not established until 1839, when it was located, by a commission authorized by the Legislature, at Columbia. Central College was established in 1844, William Jewell, in 1849, Westminster, in 1853, Washington University in 1854, Drury, in 1873, Park College in 1875, Tarkio College in 1883, and Missouri Valley, in 1888. These with Central Wesleyan of Warrenton and Missouri Wesleyan at Cameron constitute what is now known as the College Union, which was organized in 1893. The organization of the College Union resulted in the standardization of higher education in the State. It also had a marked influence on high schools and all secondary education, for the reason that minimum standards of education were defined. Of course it is understood that these standards were all based primarily on the work of the Committee of the National Education Association with respect to secondary education.

The normal schools of the State were organized in 1870. They were established under the authority of an act of the Legislature in March, 1870. At this time two schools were established, one at Kirksville and one at Warrensburg. In 1873 a third school was established at Cape Girardeau and in 1905 two additional schools were established—one at Springfield and one at Maryville. These schools are under the control and management of boards of regents, appointed by the governor for a term of six years. During the existence of these schools more than 145,000 students have been enrolled in them and more than 23,000 licenses to teach have been issued by them. The University also from the beginning contributed to the preparation of teachers. The constitution of 1865 required the University to establish a chair of didactics, and at the present time the University has a well organized School of Education.

Professional education is provided for by the University of Missouri, where there are colleges of Agriculture, Arts and Science, Law, Education, Engineering, Journalism and Commerce and preparatory work for Medicine. St. Louis University makes provision for professional and educational work in Theology, Law, Dentistry and Commerce. Washington University has well organized professional departments in Law, Fine Arts, Medicine, Dentistry, Engineering and Architecture.

Mixsell and Allied Families

BY WINFIELD S. DOWNS, NEW YORK CITY

Mixsell Arms—Quarterly, first and fourth sable, a lion rampant or, the one in the first rampant to the sinister; second and third gules, a bend argent charged with a mouse courant sable.

Crest—Between two wings, the dexter per fess argent and gules, the sinister sable and or, a lion issuant affronte of the fourth, crowned gold.



HIS record of the Mixsell line begins with Philip Mixsell, born in Conestoga township, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, November 23, 1731, died in Northampton county, Pennsylvania, May 13, 1817. He was a nephew of Jacob Mixsell, of Leacock township, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, who came from Germany in the ship "Mortonhouse," which arrived at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 24, 1728.

II. Philip (2) Mixsell, son of Philip (1) Mixsell, was born in Williams township, Northampton county, Pennsylvania, March 10, 1777, and died in Easton, July 26, 1870.

Philip (2) Mixsell married Mary Wagener, born April 30, 1786, died February 26, 1868. (See Wagener). Children: 1. Matilda, born March 10, 1805, died June 14, 1881; married Charles Imes, born October 7, 1802, died March 26, 1880; had two sons and one daughter. 2. Daniel W., born January 4, 1807, died July 28, 1867. 3. Edmund B., born December 29, 1808, died July 22, 1858; married Amanda Howell; had four children. 4. Mary, married William Schott. Her daughter, Mary Schott, resides in Philadelphia. 5. Theodore, of whom further. 6. Howard, died in 1867. 7. Joseph J., born in 1814, died in 1862. 8. Philip, born May 12, 1819, died January 9, 1871; married Sarah Diehl. Their daughter, Annie Mand, married Colonel Peter Penn-Gaskell Hall.

III. Theodore Mixsell, son of Philip (2) and Mary (Wagener) Mixsell, was born September 11, 1811, died July 3, 1886.

Theodore Mixsell married Matilda Davis, born in 1816, died February 6, 1897, and they were the parents of Dr. Joseph Mixsell, of whom further.

IV. Dr. Joseph Mixsell, son of Theodore and Matilda (Davis) Mixsell, was born May 24, 1846, died July 3, 1888. He was a graduate of the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, was long a prominent practitioner in Easton, and the incumbent of

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numerous official positions. For several terms he was president of the Northampton County Medical Society, served as coroner and physician to the Northampton County Prison, and was held in high esteem as citizen and physician. Late in life he moved to Philadelphia, where his death occurred.

Dr. Joseph Mixsell married Emily Davis, born May 31, 1850, and they were the parents of: 1. Leighton, born October 1, 1871; married Helen Fenicle; he is associated with the Bethlehem Steel Company, and resides in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; they are the parents of Mary Wagener, Isabelle Ida, and Philip. 2. Austin Davis, of whom further. 3. Joseph, born October 7, 1888; married Grace Conklin; they are the parents of one son, Austin Mixsell; resides in Detroit, Michigan.

V. Austin Davis Mixsell, son of Dr. Joseph and Emily (Davis) Mixsell, was born in Easton, Pennsylvania, October 20, 1873, and died in the city of Bethlehem, January 15, 1916. He obtained his early education in the Easton schools, and after the family moved to Philadelphia he continued his studies in the Penn Charter School of the city, an institution founded by the Society of Friends. For a year after leaving school he was employed in the law office of Franklin B. McGowen, of Philadelphia, but in 1892 he returned to his native county, locating in Bethlehem, where he accepted a position in the freight office of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, remaining there for six years. In 1898 he entered the service of the Bethlehem Steel Company as an attache of the general superintendent's office, and was assigned to duty in the sales department. He advanced rapidly, and as representative of that department in New York City he completed so fine a record that in 1909 he was promoted to the highest position in the sales department of the company, general sales agent. For six years he was head of the sales department, then, in 1915, he was elected a member of the board of directors and vice-president of the company. When later the Dietrich and Harvey Machine Company, at Baltimore, was absorbed by the Bethlehem Steel Company, Mr. Mixsell was made president of that company, an office he filled until his death. In all the positions he was called upon to fill he displayed high ability, and in his private life honor and integrity distinguished him. He was a man of genial, friendly, and generous nature, and one whom to know was to love and esteem. He was one of the strong men of the Bethlehem Steel Company, and in warmest eulogy his associates of that company testify to his worth.

He was a member of the Union League and Manufacturers' clubs, of Philadelphia; the Railroad Engineers' and Lawyers' clubs, of New York City; the Pomfret Club, of Easton, and the Northampton County Country Club; the Lehigh County Country Club, of Allen-

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town; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the American Society for Testing Materials; the American Society of Mechanical Engineers; the American Iron and Steel Institute (executive committee); and the American Steel Founders' Society.

At a meeting of the board of directors of the Bethlehem Steel Company, held January 17, 1917, the following resolutions were passed:

Whereas: Austin D. Mixsell, our associate director and officer and close personal friend, has departed this life and entered into rest,

Resolved: That we, the Board of Directors of the Bethlehem Steel Company, hereby express our appreciation of the integrity and honor which he brought to the performance of his duties and the fidelity, the loyalty, the unfailing courtesy and the cheerfulness with which he carried out the various functions devolving upon him; also our sense of irreparable personal loss in the removal of a friend whom we have for years known and trusted, association with whom has been a sincere pleasure and will ever remain a treasured memory.

Resolved: That we hereby express our deep and heartfelt sympathy with his bereaved family in their great loss and sorrow.

Resolved: That as a mark of appreciation and respect all operations in the plants of this company and in the plants of the Dietrich-Harvey Machine Company, of which he was president, suspend during the funeral ceremonies.

Resolved: That a copy of this resolution be spread on the minutes of the board of directors and that a copy be sent to the family.

Austin Davis Mixsell married, February 15, 1899, Anna Elizabeth Garis, daughter of William Edwin and Ellen Louisa (Mieke) Garis, of Easton. (See Garis). Mrs. Mixsell is a member of the Pro-Cathedral Episcopal Church of the Nativity, and is prominent in civic and club circles. She retains the Mixsell Bucks county farm, and has her residence in Bethlehem.

Mrs. Mixsell survives her husband, with their three children: 1. Edwin Leighton, born February 22, 1902; a student in Choate School, Wallingford, Connecticut. 2. John Davis, born December 21, 1903; attending school. 3. Eleanor Josephine, born June 7, 1906; attending school.

The children of Mr. and Mrs. Mixsell are of French, Irish and German descent, lineal descendants of families who have played important part in the history of the Northampton region, among them Weygandt, Serfass, Eichman, Mieke, Weaver, Grunmyer, Nowland, and Bechtel, in addition to those extensively mentioned. Their maternal great-grandmother, Susan (Eichman) Garis, was a great-granddaughter of Cornelius Weygandt, who came to America from the Palatinate, Germany, in 1736, and whose descendants are widely distributed throughout Eastern Pennsylvania, especially prominent in Northampton and Lehigh counties and the Philadelphia district. Ethan Allen Weaver, one of Northampton's leading historical writers, descends from Cornelius Weygandt, as does Professor Cornelius Weygandt, of Philadelphia, with many others of position and distinction in business and the professions. Cornelius Weygandt, the founder, married Maria Agenta Bechtel, daughter of the Rev. John

Bechtel, a graduate of Heidelberg University, who came to America in 1726 as one of the "Fathers of the Reformed Church in America," and who was the author of the early "Reformed Catechism," published by Benjamin Franklin. A son of Cornelius and Maria Agenta (Bechtel) Weygandt was born in Germantown in 1744, Captain Jacob Weygandt. He was educated in Germantown, Pennsylvania, then came with his family to a "plantation" near Bethlehem, the present fashionable Fountain Hill section. He early espoused the Revolutionary cause and was a member of the Northampton County Associators, one of the first patriot military organizations. He suffered capture at Fort Washington in November, 1776, later regaining his liberty, and was one of the organizers of a company of militia, of which he was commissioned captain. Subsequent to the Revolution he settled in Easton and became the founder of the "Easton German Patriot and Countryman," published from 1805 to 1813. He served as one of the first burgesses of the borough of Easton, filled a seat in the Pennsylvania Legislature from 1808 to 1811, and in 1809 was a presidential elector. He was a vestryman of old St. John's Lutheran Church. He married, in 1767, Catherine, daughter of John Nowland, another Northampton pioneer, and their eldest son, Cornelius Nowland Weygandt, born in 1771, was associated with his father and brother, Jacob, Jr., the latter the founder of the Easton "Argus," the earliest of Easton's English newspapers, first issued February 13, 1827. Cornelius Nowland Weygandt also served as secretary of the meeting of prominent citizens called to consider plans for the founding of Lafayette College. He married Susan Grunmyer, and they were the parents of two sons and three daughters. Helen, the youngest, married William Eichman, and they were the parents of Susan Eichman, who became the wife of Samuel Garis.

(The Butz Line).

Arms—Argent, an eagle displayed azure.

Crest—A lion rampant proper.

I. Traditional indications, as well as authentic sources, give Jacob Butz, the first of the family here recorded, descent from Otto Butz, A. D. 473, and the "Vienna Book of Heraldry" calls the original ancestor "Butrus," who was taken to Germany as a prisoner of war in A. D. 160. Jacob Butz, of the first generation of this chronicle, and father of the American ancestor, was the parent of the following children: Jacob, of whom further; Henry, Christian, Peter, George, Abraham, Catharine, Charlotte, Elizabeth, Rachel, Mary, Michael.

II. *Jacob (2) Butz*, son of Jacob (1) Butz, left his German home and came to America prior to the emigration of 1727. He settled in Eastern Pennsylvania, and was the father of Michael, of whom further, and perhaps others.

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III. Michael Butz, son of Jacob (2) Butz, was born in Springfield township, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, and died in Forks township, in July, 1779. About the year 1763 Michael Butz moved to Forks township, near Easton, where he settled on a farm he had previously purchased from Paul Abel (May 10, 1763). On October 13, 1763, he joined Captain Jacob Arndt's colonial company. ("Condit's History of Easton," p. 197; "Fritts' History of Northampton, 1877," p. 53). The original roll of this company was (1902) in the possession of B. M. Youells. He took the oath of allegiance on December 15, 1777 (No. 188). (Pennsylvania Historical Society Mss. Records, 1767-78, p. 251).

Michael Butz married Elizabeth Weaver, born July 11, 1730, died September 6, 1795. They were the parents of: 1. Henry, born October 8, 1753, died March 17, 1843; married, February 29, 1777, Anne Eve Huffschmidt, and lived in Oxford township, Warren county, New Jersey. 2. Christian, of whom further. 3. Adam, born in 1760, died October 29, 1810; settled in Hamilton, Monroe county, Pennsylvania. 4. Mary, born in 1761, died January 20, 1833. 5. Peter, born in 1764, of Monroe county, Pennsylvania. 6. George, of Butztown, Pennsylvania, born in 1764, married Catharine Dreisbach, born in 1769, died September 18, 1849, daughter of Simon Dreisbach, and had eight children. 7. Cecilia, born April 17, 1767. 8. Abraham, born December 9, 1768. 9. Michael, born in 1769, died February 28, 1826; married Catharine, daughter of Christopher and Christina Keller, of Hamilton, Monroe county, Pennsylvania, and had children. 10. Jacob, of Knowlton township, Sussex county, New Jersey. 11. Charlotta, married Conrad Shearer. 12. Elizabeth, married Philip Hickenboden. 13. Catharine, married John Sipperlin. 14. Margaret.

IV. Christian Butz, son of Michael and Elizabeth (Weaver) Butz, was born November 18, 1756, and died October 10, 1821. He was a member of Captain Buss' (First) Company, Forks township, Fifth Battalion, Northampton County Militia, ordered to march July 30, 1778 (Second Pennsylvania Archives XIV, p. 577). He took the oath of allegiance, December 30, 1777 (No. 195). (Pennsylvania Historical Society Mss. Records 1767-1778, p. 251). In 1796 he was assessor for Forks, in 1801 county commissioner, and from 1811 to 1813 county treasurer. The old Butz mill, built by Colonel Kachlein in 1762, was purchased by Christian Butz from Andrew Kachlein. In the assessor's return from Easton in 1806, the following item occurs: "Christian Butz, miller, at 200, 20¼ acres land, 1 lot, 2 mills, horses, mares, geldings, cattle."

Christian Butz married Mary Wagener (see Wagener), born January 18, 1760, died June 18, 1833. Children: 1. Elizabeth, baptized January 21, 1782, died in 1842; married Philip Oden-

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welder. 2. Susanna, born June 8, 1783, died December 20, 1853; married, March 18, 1804, Jacob Heller, and had eight children. 3. Jacob, born April 16, 1786, died September 5, 1854. 4. David, of whom further. 5. Mary, born June 7, 1793, died August 21, 1878; married Peter Keiper. 6. Michael, born January 1, 1796, died November 15, 1889; married, October 22, 1822, Elizabeth Shimer, and had eight children. 7. Daniel W., born in 1802, died April 19, 1867; married Elvira Barnet, and had four children.

V. David Butz, son of Christian and Mary (Wagener) Butz, was born in 1789, and died February 18, 1827. David Butz married Mary Herster (see Herster), born in 1790, died March 24, 1868. Their children were: 1. Ebeneza, of whom further. 2. John H., born June 4, 1811, died April 21, 1879. 3. Mary, born December 1, 1812, married Herman S. Heckman. 4. Christian, born October 13, 1814, died September 20, 1859; married and had issue. 5. Susan, born November 16, 1816, died April 17, 1891; married James R. Innes, of Easton, Pennsylvania. 6. Daniel H., born in 1818, died December 30, 1858, unmarried. 7. Joseph. 8. William. 9. Elizabeth.

VI. Ebeneza Butz, daughter of David and Mary (Herster) Butz, was born January 6, 1810, and died June 16, 1892. She married, November 21, 1828, William J. Harmony, born April 7, 1807, died October 20, 1891, and had children: 1. Mary B., of whom further. 2. David. 3. Edward. 4. Joseph.

VII. Mary B. Harmony, daughter of Wm. J. and Ebeneza (Butz) Harmony, born December 31, 1829, died January 12, 1902; married William L. Davis, born August 6, 1826, died October 3, 1870, and they had children: 1. Emily, born May 31, 1850; married Dr. Joseph Mixsell. (See Mixsell). 2. Edward. 3. Adele. 4. John. 5. William.

(The Garis Line).

Arms—Or, three chevronels gules.

Crest—A leopard rampant or.

I. The Garis family for a century were noted for their skill as cabinet makers, Valentine Garis having founded a store and factory in Easton, Pennsylvania, in 1785, a business continued by his son, Samuel, and grandson, William Edwin, until 1892.

II. Samuel Garis, son of Valentine Garis, was born in Williams township, Northampton county, Pennsylvania, and was an exceptionally fine wood-carver, a calling he followed until he entered the general furniture trade. He was a member of the Lutheran church, and in the later years of his life made his home in Philadelphia.

Samuel Garis married Susan Eichman, daughter of William Eich-

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man, a leading merchant and boat-owner of Easton in an early day. Issue: 1. William Edwin, of whom further. 2. Irvin, deceased. 3. Cornelius, married Minnie Fleming, and lives in Easton, Pennsylvania; they are the parents of: Charles, Dean of Union University; Herbert, a resident of Easton; Harry, living in Washington, D. C. Two children, Maggie and Fannie, died in infancy, and a third, Samuel, died when a young man. 4. Charles, a resident of Phillipsburg, New Jersey; married and has three children: Clarence, Maud, and William. 5. David, married Catherine Sigman. 6. Frank, a physician of Germantown, Pennsylvania; married Esther Shimer, and has one daughter, Dorothy. 7. George, deceased. 8. Mary, married Edwin Hess, and lives at Camden, New Jersey; they have children: Helen, May, Samuel, Fred, Sue, George, William and Henry. 9. Elizabeth, married Dr. Robert Somers, and lives in Philadelphia; they have children: Charles and Garis. 10. Matilda, lives in Philadelphia. 11. Helen, deceased.

III. William Edwin Garis, son of Samuel and Susan (Eichman) Garis, was born in South Easton, September 26, 1849, and as a youth attended the public schools and Eastman's Business College of Poughkeepsie, New York, entering his father's establishment after the completion of his studies and learning furniture designing and manufacture. In an emergency, caused by the illness of one of the traveling salesmen of the house, he was sent to cover the territory while still in his teens. His first order, unusually large, was given contingent upon his ability to duplicate an elaborate suite of furniture for his customer, a condition his trained skill as a designer enabled him to meet with complete satisfaction. This was the beginning of his long and successful experience as a furniture salesman, although he subsequently acquired the ownership and assumed the management of the business, which enjoyed a substantial prosperity until 1892, when a nervous breakdown compelled him to retire from business responsibilities. He made his home on a farm in Forks township after his retirement, following agriculture along scientific lines, later managing Austin D. Mixsell's Bucks county farm. In 1915 he became a member of the firm of Garis & Shimer, and since that time has engaged in real estate dealings in Bethlehem, their firm a highly rated and well known organization in the city. Mr. Garis is a member of the Bethlehem Real Estate Board, the Bethlehem Chamber of Commerce, and is a communicant of Grace Lutheran Church.

Mr. Garis married, June 26, 1872, Ellen Louisa Mieke, daughter of Reuben P. and Margaret (Serfass) Mieke, her father for many years a political leader of Northampton county, and an office holder in many important capacities in City and State. Ellen Louisa (Mieke) Garis died April 1, 1912. She was a woman whose life was rich

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in good works in church and charity. She was active in the women's clubs and social service organizations of Easton, and her memory is affectionately cherished in her wide circle of friends. William Edwin and Ellen Louisa (Mieke) Garis were the parents of:

1. Anna Elizabeth, married Austin Davis Mixsell (see Mixsell).
2. Rosa Clementina, married Walter Cornelius Reynolds, and lives in Easton, Pennsylvania; they are the parents of Margaret Garis, Douglas, Walter, Cornelius, Jr., Helen, and Eloise Dorothy.
3. Margaret Ella, married Charles Hoover, deceased, a former resident of Philadelphia; Mrs. Hoover now lives with Mrs. Mixsell in Bethlehem.
4. Florence Saeger, married Harry Miller, and lives in Elizabeth, New Jersey.

(The Wagener Line).

I. Casper Wagener, of Ober-Langneundorf, was in 1719 cited several times to appear in the instruction given by the Jesuits. In 1727 he was married by the priest to Anna —, and promised to bring up his children in the Catholic faith. He passed through the trials of the Jesuit mission, probably had his children, Christopher and Anna Rosina, baptized into the Catholic faith, and fled to Goerlitz in the winter or spring of 1736, and later to Berthelsdorf. Before the migration of 1737 he was killed, the daughter Anna Rosina died, and David, of whom further, was born. The widow-mother with her two sons, Christopher and David, fled to America, arriving at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in the ship "St. Andrew Galley," John Stedman, master, September 26, 1737. The Wagener families mentioned in connection with the Jesuit mission lived in Harpersdorf and Langneundorf, and were firm, resolute and fearless Schwenckfelders. Their given names were Casper, Friedrich, Heinrich, David, Regina, Melehior, and George (Prof. H. W. Kriebel). Anna Wagener and her two sons settled in Worcester township, Montgomery county, Pennsylvania.

EDICT

Concerning the reestablishment of the so-called Schwenckfeldians in Silesia and other Provinces of his Royal Majesty; De Dato Selowitz, the 8th March 1742.

We, Frederick, by the Grace of God, King of Prussia, Margrave of Brandenburg, Arch-Chamberlain and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, &c., &c.

Be it known to all to whom these presents may come, Whereas we do hold nothing to be more contrary to Nature, Reason, and the Principles of the Christian Religion, as the forcing of the subjects' consciences and to persecute them about any erroneous doctrines which do not concern the fundamental principles of the Christian Religion; so we have most graciously resolved that the so-called Schwenckfeldians who were exiled through an imprudent zeal for Religion, to the irreparable damage of commerce and the country, be recalled into our Sovereign Duchy of Nether Silesia. We have, therefore, thought fit by these presents to assure all those who profess the said doctrine, upon our Royal word, that they shall and may safely return not only into our Sovereign Duchy of the Nether-Silesia but also into all our provinces, peaceably to live and trade there; since, we do not only receive them into our special protection, but also will give them all necessary supplies for the promotion of their commerce. And all those who



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several years ago, were deprived of their habitations and estates in our Country of Silesia in case those estates are not paid for by the new possessors, shall be reinstated without any compensation. Such as will settle in our villages shall have farms assigned them, and care shall be taken to provide them employment—and those who choose to live in towns, shall besides several ordinary Free years, have places assigned them gratis, for the building of their houses, for which purpose they need only apply to our Military and (Domainen) Chambers.

We do therefore command our superior Colleges of Justice and Finance as also all mediate Princes, Lords, Magistrates, &c., carefully to observe the same. In witness whereof we have signed this present Edict with our own hand, and caused our Royal Seal to be affixed.

Done at Selowitz, March 8th, 1742.

FREDERICK OF COCCEY,
Count of Munchan. (Seal.)

The above is from a copy of Melchoir Wagener's translation, the original transcript having been at one time in the possession of Daniel Wagener, grandson of Casper Wagener. The edict was issued several years after the emigration of the Schwenkfelders, but notwithstanding the promises of aid and protection not one of the emigres returned. It is a noteworthy fact that when the Amsterdam house, which generously furnished the passage of these emigres, became financially embarrassed in 1790, the Schwenkfeldians in Pennsylvania, in remembrance of past kindness, advanced to the house for its relief the sum of seven hundred pounds.

Casper Wagener and his wife, Anna, born in 1702, died January 23, 1790, had children: 1. Christopher, born November 15, 1727; married, November 26, 1754, Susanna, daughter of David Huebner. 2. Anna Rosina. 3. David, of whom further.

II. Judge David Wagener, son of Casper and Anna Wagener, was born May 24, 1736, died at Easton, Pennsylvania, May 9, 1796. He came to Easton in 1776, and nine years later made his first purchase of land, sixty-five acres, for two hundred and sixty pounds, six shillings. This plot was added to from time to time, until at his death he was one of the large landholders of the town. In the year 1791, he was appointed associate justice of the Northampton Courts, which office he continued to hold until his death in 1796. His will, dated February 18, 1796, and probated June 7, 1796, is recorded in Will Book 3, page 47. References to David Wagener in the Mss. Records of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are Vol. 1767-78, page 41; Vol. 1778-97, pp. 61, 63, 147, 219; Vol. 1797-51, pp. 27, 169.

Judge David Wagener married Susanna Umsted, born February 2, 1734, died April 22, 1819. Children: 1. Mary, born January 18, 1760, died in Easton, June 18, 1833; married Christian Butz (see Butz). 2. Elizabeth, born in 1760, died August 18, 1830; married Jacob Mixsell, and had five children. 3. Deborah, born in 1764, died October 11, 1826; married Adam Deshler, and had five children. 4. Daniel, of whom further. 5. David, born in November, 1770, died March 19, 1854; married Rosanna Beidleman. 6. John. 7. Abraham.

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III. Daniel Wagener, son of Judge David and Susanna (Umsted) Wagener, was born in 1766, died May 24, 1842. Daniel Wagener was for thirty-nine years judge of the Northampton County Courts.

Daniel Wagener married, April 13, 1785, Eve Opp, born April 1, 1768, died April 6, 1833. Children: 1. Mary, born April 30, 1786, married Philip Mixsell (see Mixsell). 2. Susanna, born May 11, 1788, died June 18, 1859; married Joseph Burke, and had five children. 3. Jacob, born December 10, 1790, died December 14, 1859; married (first) Sabina Michler, and had three children. 4. David D., born October 11, 1792, died October 1, 1860; married Mary Knauss; David D. Wagener was a member of Assembly, 1828-31, member of Congress, 1832-40, captain of the Easton Union Guards, 1816-29, and president of the Easton National Bank, 1852-60. 5. John O., born May 19, 1800, died June 9, 1829; was a physician; married a Miss Adams.

(The Herster Line).

I. Andrew Herster was born in the year 1726. At the age of twenty-three he embarked at Rotterdam on the ship "Speedwell," captain, James Craig, and qualified at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 25, 1749. (2d Pa. Arch. XVII, p. 294). He settled at Long or Falkner Swamp, near Pottstown. In 1766, ten years after his marriage, he removed to Easton with his family. In the records of the Augustus (Trappe) Lutheran Church, the oldest church of that denomination in Pennsylvania, in Providence township, Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, occurs the following: "Andreas Herster married 16 Dec. 1756, at John Koplin's house, Anna Maria, daughter of Peter Marsteller." In 1760 his name appears on Pastor Muhlenberg's subscription list for one pound, ten shillings, yearly from 27 Nov. 1760.

On July 9, 1776, Andrew Herster was appointed second sergeant in Captain John Arndt's First Battalion of Associators, a part of the Flying Camp of ten thousand men. (2d Pennsylvania Archives, XIV, p. 558, and Rosengarten's "The German Soldier," p. 154). It appears that he took the place of his son John, who had previously enlisted. In the company's first engagement at the battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776, he was taken prisoner and confined in the British prison ship "Jersey" (2d Pa. Arch. XIV, p. 561), where he died December 25, 1776. His name appears on the monument in Trinity Churchyard, which was erected to the memory of those who died on the prison ship.

The following is taken from the Register of St. John's Church, Easton:

1830, Maria (Herster) of the family of Peter Marsteller, born August 26, 1736, baptized and confirmed in the Lutheran Church, from which time a communicant at our Table. She entered into matrimony about 73 years ago with Andrew Herster. They

MIXSELL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

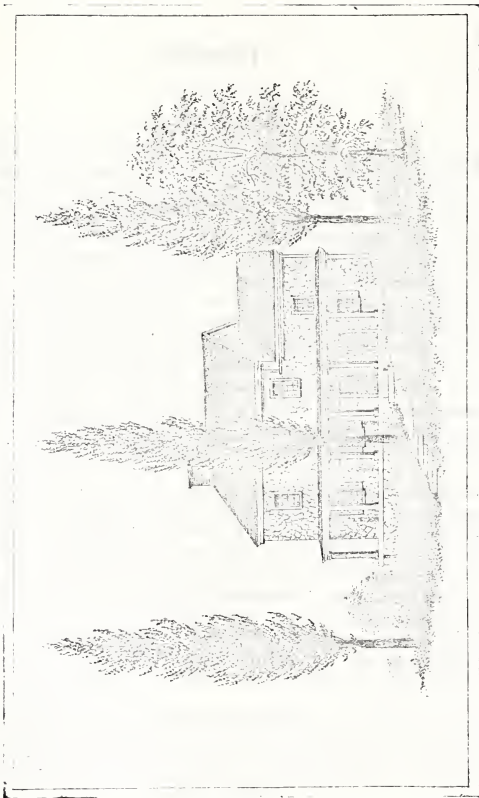
were blest with 3 children, 2 sons and a daughter, the latter which is sometime since dead. Her infirmities, caused by extreme old age, increased until it pleased God to remove her from us, viz: about 8 o'clock in the evening of the 14th September, age 94 yrs. 22 da. It is remarkable circumstance, worthy the notice of this congregation, that she lived to see 18 grandchildren, 92 great-grandchildren and 9 great-great-grandchildren.

Andrew Herster married, December 16, 1756, Anna Maria Marsteller, born August 23, 1736, died September 25, 1830. They were the parents of: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Daniel, born in April, 1763, died August 2, 1846; married Anna C. Simon, and had eight children. 3. Mary, married William Thompson, and had one son and one daughter.

II. John Herster, son of Andrew and Anna Maria (Marsteller) Herster, was born at Long Swamp, Pennsylvania, October 16, 1758, died at Easton, February 25, 1856. The old stone mill at the north end of the Third street Bushkill bridge was the first mill built by John Herster in the year 1789. "To his energy and enterprise the citizens were indebted for the erection of several of the flouring mills." The old mill at Williams's, North Thirteenth street, the distillery half mile west, and the distillery above Kepler's, were built by John Herster. He took the oath of allegiance (no. 324), May 13, 1778. In 1786 he was assistant assessor for Easton; 1787-89 one of the assistant freeholders of Easton. From 1795 to 1801 he was treasurer of the county, and during this period was also one of the burgesses of Easton. He was one of the incorporators of the Easton and Wilkes-Barre Turnpike Company, 1803; of the Lehigh Chain Bridge, 1811; of the Easton Water Company, 1817; and of the Easton Delaware Bridge Company. John Herster was appointed ensign in the Second Battalion of Northampton Militia, vide letter of Company Lieutenant Robert Lewers, to Timothy Matlack, secretary to Supreme Executive Council, May 1, 1782. "John Herster, Ensign, in the room of Abraham Berlin appointed Lieutenant."

John Herster married Margaret Shnyder, born in 1762, died January 11, 1811. Children: 1. Catharine, born in 1784, died March 31, 1825; married George Barnet, and had six children. 2. Elizabeth, born November 25, 1786, died May 12, 1861; married Henry Eyerman, and had two sons and one daughter. 3. George, born August 12, 1788, died May 6, 1819; married Susanna Mixsell, and had four children. 4. Mary, born in 1790, married David Butz (see Butz). 5. Joseph, born May 4, 1793, died April 25, 1870; married Mary Wagener, and had five children. 6. John J., born August 17, 1795, died May 22, 1819.

Advertisement.



Drawn by C. P. Dailey **HEAD QUARTERS OF GEN. WASHINGTON AT THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE.** Bowen & Co Lith, Philadelphia

Editorial

IN MEMORIAM

In the passing of John Woolf Jordan, LL.D., whose death occurred at his home in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on June 12th, 1921, is witnessed the ending of a long and highly useful life. Of none can it be more truthfully said that "his works do follow him," than of one whose life had been so occupied as was that of Dr. Jordan. For fully one-half of his upwards of fourscore years he was the librarian of the famous old Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and custodian of its invaluable archives, and for a yet longer period his pen had been busy in the compilation of ancient records concerning the Colonial American period, to the preservation of much that without his intelligent labors would have utterly perished from the earth. Indeed, as a genealogist, historian and antiquarian he was without a peer in the entire country. He busied himself with only that which was of worth; for the trifling and ephemeral he had neither taste nor patience. His every thought and his every effort was of real worth and for permanence.

Dr. Jordan came to his life task with an enthusiasm born out of reverence for an ancestry which had borne a full part in the making of his State and Nation. His first American ancestor, Frederick Jordan, of French extraction, was born in County Kent, England, and came to America in his young manhood. He first located in Pennsylvania, thence removing to Hunterdon county, New Jersey. He bore an honorable part in the Revolutionary War, serving in the Second Regiment of the New Jersey Continental Line, and participating in the campaign which culminated in the surrender of the British army at Yorktown. He married Catherine Eckel, of Bucks county, Pennsylvania.

John Jordan, son of Frederick and Catherine (Eckel) Jordan, was born in Hunterdon county, New Jersey. In his youth he entered the counting house of his uncle, Godfrey Haga, the eminent Philadelphia merchant and philanthropist, and to whose business

EDITORIAL

he eventually succeeded. He married Elizabeth Henry, daughter of Hon. William Henry.

Francis Jordan, son of John and Elizabeth (Henry) Jordan, was born in Philadelphia, in which city he became prominent in mercantile life and in association with various large financial institutions. He married Emily Woolf, daughter of John Lewis and Margaret (Ewing) Woolf. Her father was a prominent citizen of Philadelphia, where he held various public positions, and was a lieutenant-colonel of militia during the second war with England. Her grandfather, Lewis Woolf, came from Hanover, Germany, and settled at Pottsgrove, then in Philadelphia and now in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania. During the Revolutionary War he performed service in the Continental army in the Troop Marcausse, commanded by Captain Bartholomew Von Heer, and accoutred as light dragoons.

Dr. John Woolf Jordan, son of Francis and Emily (Woolf) Jordan, was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 14, 1840. He was educated in private schools in his native city, and Nazareth Hall, graduating from the last named institution in 1856, in his sixteenth year. He was twenty-three when during the Civil War the State was invaded by the Confederate army under General Robert E. Lee, and he was among those who responded to the call of the Governor to take service in the emergency forces to aid in repelling the enemy. During that period he served with Starr's battery, attached to the Thirty-second Regiment of Pennsylvania Militia.

Called to the place of librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dr. Jordan at once proved his entire fitness for that eminently important position, which he adorned for the remainder of his life. So complete was his knowledge of all the immense mass of material under his charge, that his memory was a veritable *index rerum* ever at the instant command of investigators. Nor did this work exhaust his capabilities. In 1887 he entered upon the editorial conduct of "The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography," to which he made many valuable original contributions. As editor he placed in form many valuable papers relating to Colonial and Revolutionary history, among them being the "Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia, 1765-1798;" "Orderly Book of the Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot, 1777;" "Orderly Book of Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion, Colonel Anthony Wayne, 1776;" "Orderly Book of the Second Pennsylvania Line, Colonel Henry Bicker,



LOG HOUSE, NAZARETH

Erected 1740; was the Whitefield House, 1748; torn down 1871



PENN HOUSE, CHESTER

Built in 1683

EDITORIAL

1778;" "Orderly Book of General J. P. G. Muhlenberg, 1777;" "Orderly Book of the Seventeenth British Foot, Major Robert Clayton, 1778;" "John Martin Mack's Narrative of a Visit to Onondaga in 1752;" "Bishop J. C. F. Cammerhoff's Journal of a Journey to Shamokin, 1748;" "Annals of Wechquetauk Indian Mission, 1760-1763;" "Annals of Wyalusing Indian Mission."

Dr. Jordan's published volumes include the following: "A Red Rose from the Olden Time, 1752-1772;" "Friedenstahl and its Stockaded Mill;" "Narrative of John Heckwelder's Journey to the Wabash in 1792;" "John Heckwelder's Notes of Travel to the Ohio, 1797;" "Bishop A. G. Spangenberg's Journey to Onondaga in 1747;" "Military Hospitals at Bethlehem and Lititz during the Revolution;" "Revolutionary History of Bethlehem, 1775-1783;" "Battle of Germantown," and "Franklin as a Genealogist." For many years until his death he was associated with the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, and with The American Historical Society, Incorporated, as editor and contributor, and their very many volumes testify to his industry and ability. Among them are "Colonial Families of Philadelphia," "Colonial and Revolutionary Families of Pennsylvania," "Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania Biography," and "Encyclopedia of American Biography." The three last named volumes contain a vast amount of genealogical material which is the basis of the history of thousands of families, not alone in Pennsylvania, but throughout the entire country.

Dr. Jordan was the first president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, vice-president of the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, registrar of the Pennsylvania Society Sons of the Revolution, vice-president of the Swedish Colonial Society, honorary member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati, and was connected with many learned societies. He was also a commissioner of Valley Forge Park, and held a similar connection with the Commission for the Preservation of the Public Records of Pennsylvania. Lafayette College in 1902 conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

A portrait of Dr. Jordan appears as the frontispiece of this number of "Americana," and on preceding pages are given liberal extracts from two of his notable papers, on Andrew Hamilton and the Bradford Family.

Dr. Jordan married Anne Page, daughter of Alfred and Rebecca

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Page, of Philadelphia, and to them were born two sons and a daughter.

"LEST WE FORGET"

From the S. M. Christiè Press of New Brunswick, New Jersey, comes a volume of more than two hundred pages, published by that city, under the title, "New Brunswick in the World War," and dedicated to its men and women who upheld its honor in that tremendous struggle. It was compiled and edited by Mr. John P. Wall, a most well equipped local and State historian, who states in his preface, "These pages were compiled to perpetuate the valor and courage of the men and women of New Brunswick who took part in the greatest conflict that the world has ever known, and to express our debt of gratitude to the nearly eighteen hundred men and women of this city who donned the uniform of the United States and gathered under the colors to offer their lives that the principles so dear to them should not perish."

There is no phase of the activities of either the soldiers or of the home abiders, from beginning to end of the great drama, but is presented in graphic narrative, and the abundant illustrations emphasize the record in its every aspect, pathetic and humorous. The work will have ever increasing value with the passing years.



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